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AKWESASNE NOTES

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

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NEWSTAND PRICE:
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"We hope you will at last hear our words"

alcatraz

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:
We, Indians of All Tribes, having held the island of Alcatraz for 19 months, were forcibly removed by Federal marshals. Despite all the injustices we American Indians have suffered, we hold a hope that you will at last hear our words. We propose:

That the deed of the island of Alcatraz be given to the Indians of All Tribes, with the stipulation that they act as guardians of the island in the name of the Great Spirit, and for the benefit of all men and women who respect our earth mother.

We propose that work begin immediately to level all man-made structures so that nature can once more return to this island, and that it be declared as sacred ground to remain as such forever. We propose that a small roundhouse be erected for an annual ceremony of earth renewal and purification to re-dedicate it to all who respect our earth.

This proposal, then, we offer to the citizens of this country, hoping that by its acceptance, a new era of understanding and cooperation between a people of varied cultural backgrounds can at least begin.

Don't Ask, Just Listen

"It seems perfectly compatible that in this great land, known for its beauty, vastness and tenderness, should be the place where man decides to put the biggest proposition that he's ever put at one time on the crust of the earth – namely a 48 inch pipeline across this state."

Secretary of Interior
Rogers C.B. Morton

"If you're short of something, you simply take it, in spite of the consequences to the environment."

University of Saskatchewan
Professor W.K. Braun

"We're simply returning the site to the use of all the people. It absolutely was not a raid."

Chicago Park Superintendent
Thomas Barry (on Indian removal)

"New changes in the BIA will retain the innovativeness of the newcomers, tighten up on some slipshod administrative practices that are largely the result of inexperience and overeagerness, and in the long run, better enable the Bureau to carry out the President's policy of giving Indians a greater role in determining their own destiny."

John Crow, newly appointed
deputy commissioner of BIA

Don't Exploit our Dead or our Ceremonies

You encourage digging in the name of science, starting many others digging in the graves of our Grandfathers and Grandmothers, exposing their bones for the gawking public eye and their rude comments.

You say you want to learn more about the Indian. There are still plenty of alive ones around to talk. If Indians molested white men's graves they would be thrown in jail.

Indians, even if they are dead, have the right to remain Indians. We demand legislation prohibiting the digging in Indian burials. We demand the removal of Indian bones from museums – both public displays, and in their storerooms – and their proper reburial by Indian medicine people.

Until that comes to pass, no one will rest.

TO THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE:
To preserve, maintain, and truly protect our sacred religious ceremonies, our culture and land, I Starlie Lomayaktewa, village Kikmongi, announce to you, the world in general, and to our Hopi People that we are closing our Hopi Antelope and Snake Ceremony to ALL WHITE PEOPLE this year.

Many of our own Hopi people as well as our Indian friends who come to participate in a prayer for rain, abundance of food and long life for all living things on this earth are crowded out by so many white tours and students who seem to have no respect for our sacred rituals. In spite of our repeated warnings that we do not allow pictures, hand drawings, and recordings, yet someone is always doing that. This ceremony is not an entertainment or a show for white people who have no respect for our ceremonies.

I appeal to all of our young men to come and help us see that our demands are respected.

...or our Dances

We, the Indians of All Tribes, were angered by the advertisement of Whitemen who call themselves the "Koshare Indians" who knew the tribal dances better than the "real Indians". But these men are not Indians, but rather boy scouts grown old, who have scavenged the true Indians all over this land for material to "play-act" at the expense of these same people.

Indians of All Tribes feel our cultural and religious traditions have been stolen and exhibited for profit long enough. These traditions are stripped from us as children, for we are beaten, punished, called names, because we are Indians – and here the ones who strip us use our traditions, use our religions, use us, and blatantly exhibit what we are shamed out of! We will no longer sit idly by while our sacred dress and dances are flaunted to the tune of popcorn and soft-drink hawkers.

On Alcatraz, we asked for a place to worship – and we were driven off! On the Niki Missile site, we asked again. We asked for a place in which we could again learn our own culture from those who still remember – and we were driven off.

We are sickened and tired at the constant and never-ending discrimination against our people, discrimination coming in many forms. You have stolen the sacred Sioux war bonnet, the sacred Apache neckwear, and then dance to the tune of munching popcorn and we ask you to stop – NOW!!

AKWESASNE NOTES

Way of life ebbing away

Indians shoot arrows at James Bay project

By DAN POTTIER
The Star's Quebec Bureau

QUEBEC—The Quebec Indians Association has united its forces against the James Bay development project which it says signifies the "extermination of Indians in the area."

At a press conference yesterday, association officials said they are determined to block the giant project.

The position is that the land in the James Bay area belongs to the Indians by treaty and the provincial government has no right to move in as it wishes without first consulting the Indians involved and working out agreements.

About 7,000 Cree Indians will be directly involved by the hydro-electric development and the association says these people will lose their livelihood, see their heritage wiped out and practically be "massacred."

One band chief, pointing out that the flooded lands will destroy hunting and trapping grounds, said the result would have been the same if the government had moved in machine guns.

Insisting that the Crees in the James Bay region have legal rights to the area, the association is sending letters of protest to Ottawa and Quebec.

Prime Minister Trudeau and Northern Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien will receive letters urging Ottawa "to meet your obligation as protector of Indian rights and do all in your power to put an immediate stop to this project."

Premier Robert Bourassa will receive a letter denouncing his "birthday present" — the James Bay project, which the government is beginning without consulting the Indians.

The reference is to the fact that the James Bay bill was adopted by the national assembly last July 14, on the premier's birthday.

"This project signifies the moving and even the deportation of 7,000 Indians," the letter says, "as well as the disappearance of the resources vital to their existence; that is to say that your project signifies the gentle extermination of the majority of Indians in the James Bay region."

Billy Diamond, the young chief of the Cree band at Rupert House on the shores of James Bay, describes the project as "those damn dams. I don't know if we can stop them, but we're going to try."

Stressing the legality of its position, the association's secretary-treasurer, Max Gros-Louis, said "only the beavers have the right to build dams on our land.

The heads of the James Bay region Cree bands were all present at the meeting (some through representatives) and they insisted that Quebec had not consulted them before deciding to go ahead with the project.

It was explained that by an act of 1912, the former Hudson's Bay Co. territory was given to Quebec by the federal government.

The one condition was that the provincial government had to reach agreement with the Indians in the area before doing anything with the land.

Mr. Gros-Louis said the association sent Quebec a brief in 1969 pointing out that the area was Indian land by law and that the government had to

THE MONTREAL STAR,

JULY 29, 1971

"get a release" from the Indians before doing anything to it.

"We are not citizens of Quebec and don't want to be," Mr. Gros-Louis said.

Addressing himself to the other band chiefs at the news conference, Mr. Gros-Louis, his hair done up in a long braided plait, asked "are you citizens of Quebec?"

Mr. Diamond replied: "Tell us another good one, Max."

They all spoke English and said that most of the Indians in the James Bay region are English-speaking.

"We all went to school in Ontario," Mr. Diamond said, "where we were sent by the federal government."

The issue of education prompted Mr. Diamond to explain how the James Bay project was a great threat to the survival of the Indians in that area.

"I went to school in Ontario for 13 years," he said, "and I'd had enough. I felt like I had been processed through a factory. I felt like a canned fruit.

"I didn't want to be that so I returned home to the life I knew.

"When this hydro project tears up our land, will our children and our grandchildren be able to go back like I did?"

The association has two lawyers to fight its case. Its argument is that the dams and the resulting flooding will destroy Indian hunting and trapping territories. The temporary jobs offered by the development are no compensation for the irreparable damage, it said.

Mr. Gros-Louis and the other chiefs insisted that they will have nothing to do with compensation or repatriation. They want to stay where they are and live the life they know.

Concern over the lot of the Indians was one of the major topics used by opposition parties in the national assembly to protest the James Bay plan as it stood.

Natural Resources Minister Gilles Massé said that a study group was working on this matter.

The association says it has the support of the National Brotherhood of Indians in their stand, and it is determined to be heard.

Mr. Gros-Louis said they want direct consultation with the Quebec cabinet, not with civil servants and minor officials.

James Bay Indians

JUL 31 1971

Quebec Indians cannot seriously imagine they have a hope of halting the James Bay power development. Obviously, the interests of some 7,000 Crees, however justified their claim, must not be allowed to take precedence over those of an entire province whose economic future is linked to the project's success.

This being said, however, the Quebec Indians Association is to be congratulated for bringing the case of those it represents to the attention of the public. If the association's leaders are realists, they have probably opened with implacable opposition to the whole James Bay concept as their intial negotiating position. Having made their point, the way is now clear for the Quebec government to respond. This should be done with spontaneity and sincerity, in contrast with the churlish reluctance and hypocrisy which have characterized similar debates in the past.

During the National Assembly debate on Bill 50 assurances were given the Opposition that the interests of the native population of the James Bay area would be fully considered and protected. There were, however, no precise details offered and this is surely what is worrying the Cree leaders now. Natural Resources Minister Masse says there is a study group working on the problem. This sort of statement has about it the dull thump of a file being dropped to the bottom of a dusty drawer in a civil service filing cabinet.

THE MONTREAL STAR,

Cree leader Max gros-Louis has the sympathy of a good many citizens when he says the band wants some direct form of consultation with the Quebec cabinet instead of with minor officials. Those who have had similar experiences will fully understand his reluctance to deal with a bureaucracy. It is, after all, the future existence of a people which is at stake here. This should be discussed on the most human of levels, in an atmosphere far removed from the red-tape and rubber-stamp trappings of petty officialdom.

Had the Bourassa government shown as much imagination in this as in certain other areas when drawing up the James Bay scheme, it would have won itself accolades from the native peoples across Canada. It would have been a civilized and graceful gesture — as well as a politically astute one — if the government had offered generous and concrete suggestions to ensure that the Indian bands could look forward to an even brighter future as the James Bay project takes shape. The right note of dignity could have been added by designation of a cabinet member to work things out with the Indian leaders.

It is regrettable that the initiative had to be taken by the Crees. It is also unfortunate that they have seen fit to turn to Ottawa once again with their petitions. Swift action now can do much towards correcting early oversights. A concrete statement by Premier Bourassa would help

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Chief says Indians of Quebec should seek most on James Bay

QUEBEC — (CP) — Quebec Indians should concentrate on reaping the most rewards possible from the $6 billion James Bay hydroelectric project rather than uselessly opposing it, says Montagnais chief Daniel Vachon of Sept-Iles.

For example, he said in a recent interview, the Quebec Indians Association could be pressing the government for priority consideration in hiring of James Bay workers. They would have a stronger case since they would be directly affected by development of the area.

To prevent the Indians from bieng given only unskilled, temporary jobs, Chef Vachon said, the James Bay Development Corp., a Crown company, should agree to provide Indians and Eskimos with the technical instruction necessary for worthwhile, permanent employment.

He said he opposes the announced intention of the Quebec Indians Association to urge federal and provincial government officials to quash the project.

Chief Vachon criticized the Iron Ore Co. of Canada "which did not entirely keep its promises to the Indians" when it moved into northeastern Quebec and took away hunting grounds for construction of the railway line between Sept-Iles and Schefferville.

Eskimo issue deadlocked

OTTAWA (CP) — Negotiations between Ottawa and Quebec over the transfer of responsibility for about 3,000 Eskimoes in Arctic Quebec are "at a standstill," a spokesman for Northern Development Minister Jean Chretien said yesterday.

"Our position remains that there will not be transfered without consultation with the Eskimoes," the spokesman said.

Since the early 1960s, Quebec has been seeking to provide provincial-type services such as education and welfare to the Eskimoes in New Quebec.

In the meantime, Ottawa is "moving ahead" with improvements in its Arctic Quebec services and recently opened up a regional office in Quebec City to be closer to the people it serves.

The Commons' northern development committee, in a report to Parliament last week, said it found "backlash" among some Arctic Quebec Eskimoes over the teaching of French in the provincial schools.

Traditionally, Arctic Quebec Eskimoes are Anglicans and have spoken only their own language and English.

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Ed. Curriculum Materials, Univ. of Calgary

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Prince Albert Technical High School

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ONTARIO
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Scarborough College Library, West Hill
Westway High School Resource Center, Weston
University of Waterloo
Korah Collegiate Library, Sault Ste. Marie
Sarnia College Institute Library
Indian Eskimo Association Library, Toronto
Ontario Department of Public Records
Humberside Collegiate Library, Toronto
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London Public Library
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If a library in your area is not on the list, drop in or phone to encourage them to subscribe, or send for a sample copy. Since libraries are publicly financed, sometimes, they often cannot make donations. In that event, we can send them an invoice for $5 for a one year subscription. However, if they are broke, we can send the paper at no cost if they agree to accept and display it.

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*oldies

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THE COLONIALS

By Joe Escourido

A LETTER FROM HIS MAJESTY? MY WORD!!
M-M-M-" MY DEAR STRAITLY, I HEAR THAT YOU PAY THE REDMAN FAIRLY FOR HIS LAND AND THAT YOU SHOW RESPECT TO THEIR CHIEF " THEREFORE, I HEREBY TITLE YOU!!
"A VERY DANGEROUS RADICAL?!!"
7-31

INDIAN LAND

CALENDAR

SEPTEMBER

4-6 TRADITIONAL UNITY CONVENTION
Maniwaki, Quebec. (Chief William Commanda) (819-448-3786).

3-6 Parker, Arizona: 16th all-Indian Baseball Tourney

4 Tahlequah, Oklahoma: Cherokee National Holiday

4-6 Shinnecock Powwow, between Hampton Bay and Easthampton, Long Island, NY

10-12 Southern Ute Fair and Rodeo, Ignacio, Colorado

16-20 Aspen, Colorado: Second Convocation of American Indian Scholars (American Indian Historical Society 1451 Masonic Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94117)

18-19 Oaklad, New Jersey: Thunderbird Annual Powwow, Mullers Park, Route 202.

18-19 Peninsula, Ohio: Iroquois Festival, Tamisen Park (Junction of route 8 and 532, exit 12 South of Ohio Tpke)

28-2 Cherokee, North Carolina: Fall Festival

Recent...Relevant

THE SACRED PIPE: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux recorded and edited by Joseph Epes Brown Penguin Books. $1.45 postpaid. Highly recommended.

BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE by Dee Brown. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $9 postpaid. It's $11 in the book stores, but we are selling it at this price to encourage Indians, libraries, and interested non-Indians to know U.S. history as it happened. Must reading. See that your library gets it.

OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER: The Indian in White America edited by Edgar S. Cahn. $3.95 postpaid. A look at the status of Indians today, in a world which grinds out new injustices day by day. An expose of Indian affairs.

OF UTMOST GOOD FAITH: The Case of the American Indian against the Federal Government of the United States – as documented in treaties, speeches, judicial rulings, congressional bills and hearings from 1830 to the present. Edited by Vine Deloria, Jr. Straight Arrow Press. $9 in hardcover ($10 at the bookstores) postpaid. Documentation of the most significant historical encounters.

UNCOMMON CONTROVERSY: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians. A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. $2.50 postpaid paperback. Introduction by Walter Taylor. Essential reading for anyone concerned with minority rights and the opportunity for cultural diversity.

THE GREAT LAW OF PEACE of the People of the Longhouse published by White Roots of Peace. $1. Illustrations by Kahonhes. The Constitution of the Iroquois, on which the American constitution drew heavily.

THE MAGIC WORLD: American Indian Songs and Poems selected and edited with an introduction by William Brandon. $5 in hardcover, $6 at your bookstore. Representative selection from a great world literature. Royalties to the Rough Rock Demonstration School. Better 'n Shakespeare.

THE MAN WHO KILLED THE DEER: A Novel of Pueblo Indian life by Frank Waters. Swallow Press. $2.50 postpaid. A good book for winter reading.

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LAW by Felix Cohen (1948 edition) Reprinted by University of New Mexico Press, this edition was tampered with by the US Government and has been out-of-print for years. Every tribal council and library should have one. $25 from the publisher, $20 from us, postpaid. Heavy reading, but a basic reference work.

NATIVE AMERICANS: The New Indian Resistance by William Meyer. Just published by International Publishers as a Little New World Paperback. An important book by a Cherokee urban-based activist giving a depth resistance analysis of recent Indian events. $1.25.

THE UNJUST SOCIETY: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians. Hurtig. 1970. $2.75. Important on both sides of the border about why Indians must face the future on their own terms. The author, Harold Cardinal, is the young president of the Alberta Indian Association.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN: Selected Readings from Mankind Magazine. Edited by Raymond Friday Locke. A good reader, with chapters on Indian humor, Geronimo, Cheyennes, History and Red Power, etc. $1.75

CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS – an LP stereo record album by Floyd Westerman. Right-on music that is highly political. $5 postpaid. Will be in style for years and years, as long as we have missionaries, anthropologists, and the BIA.

THE SOURCE?

WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE
Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

HELP

This paper cannot exist without the participation of its readers. Everyone is invited to "do their own thing."

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See that the paper reaches people who should have it. Send us names and addresses of your friends. Send us the mailing list of your organization, newsletter, or paper – we'll send sample mailings to them all. See that Indians in prisons and institutions have their name on the list, as well as kids in boarding schools.

Sell the paper at pow-wows, meetings. Go door to door in Indian communities. Put it out in the church lobby, on your desk in the office, in the council hall, or Indian center. Makes a good opportunity to talk to people about Indian matters.

Locate others to sell the paper. Encourage a local newsstand or bookstore or trading post to put a few copies on display. We will send the number of copies you order. You pay us 35 cents for each one you sell. When the next issue arrives, just give the older copies to people who will be sure to read them. This is the surest way we have of seeing that the paper survives financially.

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Carol Warrington confronts police from behind the gate at the abandoned Nike base at Belmont Harbor, Chicago

UPI Telephoto

RELOCATION REVISITED: A CHICAGO ODYSSEY

Last summer, homeless, down-and-out Indians living in Chicago established a tent camp known as the Chicago Indian Village near Wrigley Field. Since that time, they have moved to — and been evicted from — a Nike site, an abandoned apartment building, a county park, and they are now on surplus lands of the Argonne National Laboratory.

The house they were in this winter is pictured above. When it burned out in mid-June, they headed for an abandoned Army Nike missile site at Belmont Harbor before dawn and vowed to remain until they get proper housing. Their action came hours after the Indians on Alcatraz were removed in a strong military raid.

They just forced a padlock, and started pitching tents. They told the guards they were peacefully "reclaiming land the white man had taken from them" and there was no violence or action against them. The Nike sites had been leased by the Army for 17 years but are about to be returned to the Chicago Park District.

One of the leaders of the action was Mike Chosa, who has been attempting to organize the Indians who were brought to Chicago in massive relocation programs — and who have not made it in city life economically, socially, or morally. He has attempted to work with those who find other doors closed to them, and who many middle-class Indians who enjoy the affluent life find embarrassing. Predictably his organization has been labelled as drunks, foolish, and destructive.

While his group was at the missile site, another group of Indians met with the Urban League, the Salvation Army, the American Indian Bible Church, and other organizations. Bear Bow, a Cheyenne from Oklahoma said that Chosa's group did "not represent the Indians of Chicago." However, no one has yet told Chosa what he should do with a hundred or more people who have no home, no jobs, no hope, a drinking problem, and who have been deculturized and dispossessed.

The City had promised there would be public hearings about what use should be made of the abandoned missile sites. Chosa attended and spoke there. "If you take any action against us, we will stay there and die there," he said. "We have been pushed for 115 years, and our backs are to the lake. We have no place else to go."

A federal spokesman said before the hearing that if the Indians don't agree to peaceful evacuation, "firmer steps" would be taken. And among the other delegations represented at the hearings, few favoured the Indians keeping the site. They wanted it to be used for other "public purposes".

The feelings at the missile site can best be characterized by an exchange with the Chicago policeman who first arrived on the scene, and an Indian boy. Said the policeman, "Come out! What is your problem?" The youngster replied, "Get off my yard."

That was June 14th. It was a different story on July 1. Riot-equipped police and Chicago Park district employees engaged in a 90-minute battle leaving three of them injured, and 12 Indians arrested.

The attacking force first tried to remove the chain-link fence surrounding the site, but as they tried to touch the wire, Indians hit at their fingers with baseball bats and threw water on them. Additional police were called, and about 100 extra men, a fire department pumper and other equipment, two helicopters, canine (dog) squads responded.

The Indians inside the fence prepared rocks, bottles, debris, and made several molotov cocktails to face the armed officers who were attempting to remove them.

When the attack commenced, the Indian children were assembled inside a building at the middle of the site for safety.

Thomas Barry, superintendent of the park district, said that authorization to begin ripping down the fences and removing the Indians came from the federal government the previous day.

The battle was over by 8 a.m. Moments later, crews of lawnmowers began cutting the grass and bulldozers started knocking over small buildings on the site. "We're simply returning the site to the use of all the people," Barry said.

Piously, park superintendent Barry said of the removal, "It was absolutely not a raid." And Robert Lynskey, police deputy chief of patrol said of the 5 a.m. fence-removing operation, "The Indians would still be there if they hadn't tried to stop the workers."

Among those arrested was Mrs. Carol Warrington. It was her second arrest in a month. She had removed her children from Chicago schools because of the biased history books they were using, and the Board of Education signed a complaint. A Menominee, she said she was not willing to have her children learn they were savages and brutal people. "The books don't have anything good to say about the Indians," she said.

Overpowered, Chosa and the group had no choice but to leave under police escort. They marched away, helicopters hovering, squad cars in escort. After several blocks, the marchers paused in Lincoln Park for a rest. Chosa spoke briefly. "You saw your mothers and fathers shot at and clubbed," he told the children. "Remember that. And they don't have a thing left in the world to stand for except you kids." The women had tears in their eyes. Chosa was weeping.

"I feel in my heart the Great Spirit is with us

Sun-Times Photos by Pete Peters

Mike Chosa[left] tells the hearing: "We have our backs to the lake We have no place else to go."

CHICAGO TODAY Photo

(Muhammad Speaks Photo by Nassar Muhammad)

This building was the winter home of many Indians.

every step of the way. Remember that." And the little band set out on the concrete again, helicopters still whirring overhead. They went straight to the Fourth Presbyterian Church. There, they were greeted at the door by the administrator, Norman Swenson. "Hello, Mike, what can I do for you?" he said.

Replied Chosa, "I have no place to go. I need protection and asylum."

Swenson explained the church was equipped only to provide a very temporary shelter. "A lot of power comes out of this church," Chosa said. "The vice president of U.S. Steel is a member here." But they went inside, and at Swenson's request, the police remained out.

When John Donovan, deputy commissioner of the human resources department showed up and offered his hand, "Mike, I'm John Donovan," Chosa gave him a blank look and turned away. He never did get a chance totalk to Chosa.

But the vice president of the U.S. Steel, Ed Logelin, did arrange a conference with a representative of Illinois Governor Ogilvie.

City officials came to the church to negotiate with the group. Apartments were offered, but after an inspection delegation reported that they were run-down and unsuitable for human habitation, the offer was rejected. Of another offer, Chosa said, "Our black friends are trying to get out of that situation." And so the Indians decided to spend the night in the church.

As the day passed, the Indians dozed in the basement dining hall. Susan Power, a 9-year-old Sioux, sang her anthem in 49'er style:

I love my country
Because I know
Who found it
A long time ago.
The Indians found it
A long time ago
Before Columbus,
Do you know?

The group remained in the church for two days before heading out to the suburbs. They set up an encampment at the Big Bend Lake Forest Preserve at Des Plaines.

The stay here was uneventful, but it was not hard to see it was a dead-end street. There was the lake, the woods, lots of fresh air. But they were also out of the way, on a small plot that offered no economy, and it would not be too many months before winter came.

The only event that caught the attention of the Chicago press during the encampment was an automobile accident in the early hours. John Gibson, Willie Schanandore, and Adam Sturdevant were on guard duty at the park entrance when a passing car overturned and skidded 500 feet on its roof. They were able to get the occupants out of the car before it was struck again by another thruway vehicle. "These people are just lucky these Indians happened to be there," said the sheriff's officer at the scene.

Local residents and church groups were helpful in bringing in food, although most Indians had been citified too long to remember how to cook a huge turkey without an oven. And box after box of used clothing came in, making a mound that soon became rain-soaked and scattered. Some who donated, lugging in their boxes from some distance, were greeted with the sight of the Indians standing around a fire made with burning clothes. What else to do with them there?

The Indian group also brought their own problems with them to the site. Drinking was obviously a difficulty, but a makeshift jail was set up in the trees, and anyone who got out of hand was "arrested" and tied up until better senses prevailed.

What was needed — and what didn't happen — was not used clothes, but political action and support. Finallythe decision was made to leave. Chosa said that there had been too much harrassment by Cook County authorities.

So the encampment was moved to another abandoned missile site, this time in neighboring DuPage County, property of the Argonne National Laboratory. They broke the lock on the 80-acre site, planted a warlance in the ground, and set out on an inspection tour with the three security guards who soon arrived.

The Rev. Richard Lupke, who is assigned to work with Indians by the Chicago Presbytery was present, as was Sidney Beane of the Christian Training Institute in Arizona. A former school teacher with his master's degree in social service, Beane announced that he, Fred Dennison, and Mrs. Betty Jack were making decisions concerning the welfare and progress of his people.

Fred Dennison standing guard at Argonne

Their demands were simple. They wanted 500 acres of land in the greenbelt, to develop a halfway house facility for Indians coming to the city from reservations to prepare them for city life. They were willing to become involved in environmental control projects.

As Chosa puts it, "When an Indian comes to the city, he doesn't know what to expect. He sees the bright lights and big streets, but he doesn't know what's behind the lights. He doesn't know that it costs money everytime he steps out the door. He doesn't know that to get a job he has to have a place to live, money for the bus, money for food until his first payday."

Chosa came to Chicago in 1956 from the Lac du Flambeau reservation in Wisconsin. He spent four years in the Air Force, and seven years on the West Coast organizing migrant farm workers. He is a graduate of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Haskell Institute, and he worked for the BIA in South Dakota before returning to Chicago in 1969.

"We want the rehabilitation center to be a place where an Indian who can't relate to the city can go and relax in the woods with his kids — get it all together again," Chosa said.

The government (at this writing) has not decided how to react to the Indian presence at Argonne. "We haven't decided completely what we will do," said Kenneth A. Dunbar, Chicago operations manager of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission which controls Argonne. "Obviously we don't propose to leave them there for five years. They are trespassing, and one doesn't allow trespassers."

Sidney Beane

Obviously.

During the Belmont raid

CHICAGO TODAY Photo

"I'VE BEEN PUSHED FOR 115 YEARS. WHERE DO YOU WANT ME TO LIVE, AMERICA?"

(with thanks to the Red Mountain People of Berkeley TRIBE and Nancy Conzett of FREEDOM NEWS)

When about 100 Indians seized Alcatraz on November 20, 1969, it was an immediate source of pride and unity for Indians throughout North America. Many Indians came to Alcatraz because they were homeless and the Island offered the possibility of building a better life for themselves and their children. They came to take a concrete political stand as a group of people.

THE NEGOTIATIONS FARCE

Earlier in 1971, having heard nothing from the government for months, the Indians asked Donald Jelinek, a Berkeley attorney, to attempt to set up new negotiations. In his office, U.S. Attorney James L. Browning reacted very favourably and jovially to the suggestion. "Hell, maybe they do have title. Who knows?" he said.

After some discussion as to where the talks would be held (The Indians refused to negotiate on government property) space was obtained at the California Hall. The first meeting was held on April 13. Present, representing government, were Browning, Harlington Wood (number three man under Attorney General Mitchell), Robert Ireland and Larry Anderson of the General Services Administration. On the Indians side was John Trudell, Justine Moppin, Herb Butler, Dennis Hastings, Bob Tschai, Dan Patterson, and Jelinek.

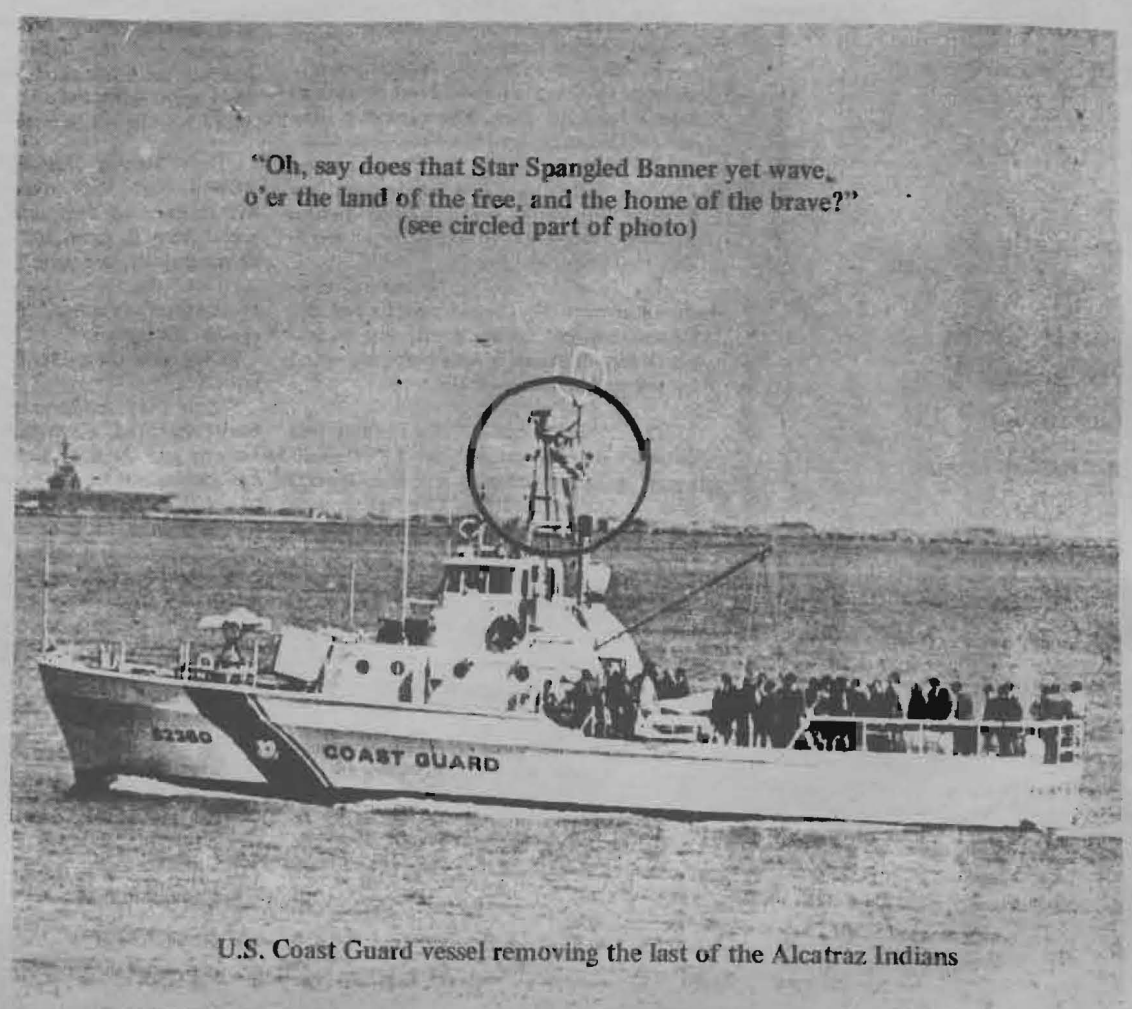
The hour and a half meeting was friendly, even casual. Among things discussed were the matter of title and the Indians' plan for setting up educational facilities on the island. Browning assured all present that no steps would be taken to remove anyone while negotiations were in progress, Jelinek said.

A second meeting took place on May 13. Many of the same people attended, plus a few more. It was friendly again. Browning admitted that the government could not give title to the island "for political reasons", but discussed the possibility of leasing the island to them. The Indians said maybe this would be acceptable, and again the meeting adjourned for each side to review their stance.

On Tuesday, June 8, Jelinek called Browning to set up a new meeting. Browning said he wouldn't be able to confirm that until Thursday, June 10th. On that date, he called Jelinek at 4:30 in the afternoon. He said he hadn't had a chance to talk to government officials but that he had a telephone appointment to Washington "before Monday". He said that he was going to make a proposal to Washington that he was sure, if accepted, would please the Indians.

Jelinek pressed for details unsuccessfully. Monday, Browning would report. Jelinek called the Indian office and relayed his feeling of optimism at the progress of the talks.

About 2:00 Friday afternoon, June 11, Browning called Jelinek to tell him that armed U.S. Marshalls had raided the island and removed the Indians.



"Oh, say does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave,
o'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave?"
(see circled part of photo)

U.S. Coast Guard vessel removing the last of the Alcatraz Indians

John Trudell, Indians of All Tribes

"We are going to keep plugging away until we have freedom and control of our lives. We are looking for an honorable government. We would be happy if all of a sudden the American way would turn into a way of honor.

"The Great White Father? That Dude's dead."

What the Indians of All Tribes wanted, of course, was not money, but the right to determine the destiny of their community.

For generations, Native Americans have been deprived of knowledge and pride in their heritage. They have been imbued with a defeatist attitude, and are consciously taught to hate themselves. This is in accord with the policy laid out by the late white "educationist", John Wesley Powell: "It is unnecessary to mention the power which school would have over the rising generation of Indians. Next to teaching them work, the most important thing is to teach them the English language. Into their own language there is woven so much mythology and sorcery that a new one is needed in order to aid them in advancing beyond their baneful superstitions."

The Alcatraz Indians were determined not to allow the federal government to continue molding their children. As Justine of Indians of All Tribes said, "As far as my children's education is concerned in the public school system, I don't want them there. I figure the best education they can have is learning about their heritage. The only thing that counts is that they be happy, and they won't be happy until they see their own people happy."

ABOUT THAT STOLEN WIRE

The case of the Alcatraz Three went to the Grand Jury, but by June 25th, the government asked for a six week extension of time, saying that the Grand Jury hadn't finished hearing the case and wanted additional evidence. Attorney Jelinek charged fraud, "They don't need more time for evidence. They need more time to dump the case. We don't need to wait for them to make political decisions."

The judge agreed that the case seemed simple enough, but he granted the government seven additional days. Maybe the case will be dropped. After all, the Indians defense would be that it was their own property on their own land.

THE LIGHTHOUSE LIE

When the government removed the Indians from Alcatraz, they realized that they had to justify their action in terms that would satisfy the general public. In this case, they didn't get their story straight, for the lies were blatant, and the contradictions glaring. Among these is the lighthouse lie. They contended it was necessary to remove the Indians to restore the light for shipping safety.

As John Holloran puts it, "They were the ones who shut off the electricity for the lighthouse. We had it going ourselves, for a while, but it was too expensive. We had planned to start it up again as soon as we could afford to. To me, that's a great symbol, that beacon up there."

ALCATRAZ IN "TERRIBLE SHAPE"

According to Jerry Carroll in the San Francisco Chronicle, a government sponsored tour of the Island after the removal was "more like anautopsy." The regional chief of the general services administration, Thomas Hannon, brought the newsmen to the island a few days after the Indians were forced off. There they found "an unrelieved vista of squalor, filth, systematic pilfering, and mindless destruction."

By keeping the attention of the press focused on how dirty and destructive "those Indians are" the mass media detracted from the real issue. But remember that before the Indians ever set foot on Alcatraz, it had fallen into incredible disrepair. Hannon had wanted the Indians to leave because of the hazards of the ruins of the prison. It was the government that shut off the water, harrassed the boats. And as one Indian woman commented, "I'd like to see how all those middle-class Americans live under the conditions we had to -- see how long they'd last."

THE ALCATRAZ THREE

It is Friday morning, June 11th. Three brothers from the Island of Alcatraz, John Holloran, Raymond Cox, and Frank Robins, have just accepted a personal check from a scrap metal company near Fisherman's Wharf. They've dealt with this company in the past. The money is always needed for food, gas, transportation.

John Halloran lived on a reservation near Phoenix. "I had nine brothers and sisters. We grew up in a four room house. A lot of the time we didn't have nothing to eat. But for future generations, its going be better because of what I'm doing."

But now the F.B.I. is following these three men. They tell them they are under arrest for "theft of government property." Later that afternoon, the radio says the federal marshalls have been "forced to invade Alcatraz, because as U.S. Prosecutor James L. Browning says, the sale of copper cable from the island was 'the straw that broke the camel's back.'"

Yet, according to the newspapers, the invasion by the Federal Marshals had been planned for two weeks in advance.

Furthermore, sources within the Coast Guard have revealed that the federal marshalls on duty before the tour spent the weekend gleefully batting baseballs through windows, and doing other fun things to wreck the buildings. The homes of the Indians had been totally trashed and looted. The place had been ransacked by the time some of the Indians were escorted back to the island to reclaim their possessions.

EDITORIAL COMMENT FROM GOOD TIMES

Yeah, they were kicked off Alcatraz. Then off the Nike base in the El Cerrito hills. The Indians have been kicked off every piece of land in North America that the white man figured he needed. The beautiful thing is that they are still trying.

Vision: Amerika as an armed camp, nervous soldiers and FBI men peering out from behind barbed wire guarding vast stretches of empty land from a potential Indian invasion.

June 26, 1971 is the 95th anniversary of Little Big Horn. George Armstrong Custer, where are you now that we need you?

Pearl Harbor apparently taught the Feds a lesson. Only the day before Alcatraz ripoff, they were negotiating with the Indians about turning the island over to them.

So the straight press did a hatchet job on the Indians. Sure in middle class terms the island was a mess. There weren't all the niceties of Palo Alto, hot water, central heating, and garbage disposals.

ALCATRAZ

Great White Father Wins Again

Federal marshals — armed with shotguns and just following orders, sir — have forcibly cleared the last few Indians off Alcatraz Island. It was a tragic moment.

Perhaps the Indians who had occupied the abandoned prison site in San Francisco Bay for 19 months lacked a valid claim to the land by contemporary standards of ownership. Perhaps they didn't even choose an effective tactic to dramatize wretched treatment of Indians. Yet who, in truth, has a superior moral claim to a patch of abandoned federal property? Not only did Indians lose a vast country to smothering white invaders, but whites took 80 million of the 130 million acres assigned to Indians as reservations in 1890. And if occupying abandoned property — as some Indians are now also doing at old Nike missile sites — fails to stir the public's conscience, what will?

Certainly the statistics of Indian ruination are appalling. The original American is, by far, the most disadvantaged American. Indian population is about half of the estimated total at the time the white man came. The Indian's average family income is about $1,500 a year. His overall suicide and murder rates are the highest in the country, while his life expectancy is the lowest.

The Indian has a school dropout rate of 50% and often lacks skills to compete for good jobs. Yet for decades the federal government pushed Indians off reservations and into city life. It was largely a disaster.

Only recently has Washington turned somewhat convincingly toward economic development of reservations themselves. Yet not enough is being spent and the hour is late. Most of the oil, water, timber and other resources once allocated to the Indians have been taken away — many say, stolen. Most reservation land is arid.

Giving some Indians Alcatraz to use as a cultural center would not have solved these basic problems. But as a symbol — as an act of good faith by a belated repentant government — it would not have hurt.

(from the Milwaukee Journal, June 21, 1971)

After Alcatraz

On the face of it, the Indians occupying Alcatraz the past 18 months had rather a good thing going. As an attention-getter, the seizure easily outdid the building sit-ins and takeovers elsewhere by various other groups.

Yet the aftermath could be something of a setback for Indians and their scattered white sympathizers. The struggle over the island was marked by intermittent violence. No all-out clashes, but sufficient rough stuff to distract notice from the principles of the Indian cause to the materialism of offense and defense. Violence played so large a part in the history of the Indians and the West that its recurrence can always bring some of the old attitudes back to life. Another doubt: will the post-Alcatraz Indian have that much more of a fixation on land possession and ownership? The old, free-ranging tribesman had no inhibitions about boundaries; it was the arriving European who had the obsessive and grasping vanity to mark off yards and acres of terrain and to hoard them as his, all his. It would be a shame, in some ways, to see Indians grow to resemble whites in one more respect.

(Editorial from the Baltimore Evening Sun, June 18, 1971)

Alcatraz Is Not An Island

We came to Alcatraz with an idea. We would unite our people and show the world that the Indian spirit would live forever. There was little hate or anger in our hearts, for the very thought of a lasting unity kept us whole and in harmony with life. From this island would grow a movement which must surely encompass the world. All men of this earth must hunger for peace and fellowship.

The idea was born and spread across this land, not as a fire of anger, but as a warming glow.

Alcatraz was born a mountain, surrounded by the waters of a great salt sea. By hands of hate was this island transformed into a symbol of fear and oppression. For too short a time this same island was held in trust by Indians of all tribes, who sang its praise as a part of mother earth, and who cleansed the evil with the sacred tobacco.

Alcatraz is again the hateful symbol of oppression. Our Indian people have been removed from sacred ground, our children have felt guns at their heads. Steel fences are again being put up. All approaches to the island are being guarded and patrolled. Armed with weapons of war and the sterile theories of law, they try desperately to keep out the Indian spirit. We send out our voices to that desolate rock, and are gifted with echoes which resound our strength.

Alcatraz, the idea, lives. We can only pray the Great Spirit that all brothers and sisters who can understand our song join us. Speak now your love of the Indian people. Dance with us the great unity. Chant with us the earth renewal. Let all men and women be proud. Let our children bathe in truth and never know the broken promises of the past.
Let Indians of all tribes be the pathway
to People of one earth.

Aroniawenrate
Summer, 1971 Indians of all Tribes
c/o 13 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco
California 94114

TELL IT LIKE IT IS By DUNAGIN

"I can't relate to this, man. Let's play Coast Guard and Indians. That clump of bushes can be Alcatraz . . ."

LETTERS

It is with deep shame that we heard of the removal of the remaining courageous "Indians" from Alcatraz Island.

Perhaps, after many generations of brainwashing, it is too late for this country to rekindle a conscience — and to feel remorse for its acts against the original people of this hemisphere — a brave, beautiful and brilliant people.

Although, possibly the fact that Dee Brown's book, "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee," is at the top of the best-seller list would indicate that many are aware, at last, of what has happened, and has for so long been "swept under the rug."

It may not be too late to restore these people to Alcatraz, and to offer them belated support toward restoration and preservation of their cultures, which have largely been taken from them, along with their land.

The efforts of the secretary of the interior will be appreciated by those of all races who now inhabit this land.

A white primary teacher
Watertown.

PROPOSAL TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

After having held the island of Alcatraz for a period of 19 months, November 20, 1969 to June 11, 1971, Indians of All Tribes were forcibly removed from the Island by federal marshals. Despite all the injustices we American Indian people have suffered in the past and even today, we hold a hope that the citizens of this great country will at last hear our words.

The ideas born and nourished on Alcatraz were never based upon hate. The occupation of this island has seen the beginnings of a unity between Indian tribes as foretold in many of our ancient prophesies. As we worked to develop these ideas we knew the necessity of co-operating with all other brothers and sisters in this land to assure a lasting success.

Our plans for a cultural and study center are now being acted upon at Davis, Toyon, and other appropriate locations across this land. Spiritual centers are being planned in many areas which will include the study and preservation of the local ecology. More and more, our Indian people are concerned with the loss of natural resources and with the ever-increasing dangers of pollution. Many species of plants and animals are extinct, and many others are threatened with extinction by current practices of conservation which lack so much. We realize, fully, the necessary duty of modern technology to begin working closer with nature, rather than against. We also feel that many of our ancient practices of conservation and coexistence with all of nature can contribute much enlightenment in this new direction.

But what of Alcatraz? The government's proposal that a park be created, with monuments of noted Indians, and Indian park rangers, is, of course, not what Indians of All Tribes has in mind. Should hundreds of tourists be visiting Alcatraz daily, it would become just another park, trampled and noisy. As for monuments, that is a thing very few of us can imagine. Each of our tribes identifies with mountains, rivers, valleys, deserts, and other natural landmarks. These are the only monuments we need or want.

Alcatraz is a very important symbol of unity for all Indians. It is with this in mind, and with the fact that so many people are beginning to realize the importance of protecting our environment, that we submit this proposal.

1. That the deed to the island of Alcatraz be given to the Indians of All Tribes, with the stipulation that the Indians of All Tribes act as guardians of this island, in the name of the Great Spirit, and for the benefit of all men and women who respect our earth mother.
2. That work begin immediately to level all man-made structures (excepting the lighthouse and necessary generators) so that nature can once more return to this island.
3. That the stone and concrete be made into blocks for a seawall as a protective barrier for the return of fish, sea otters, sea lions, and other creatures of the sea and air who would take shelter here.
4. That the steel bars and plates be given to children's playgrounds and parks across this land, to be made into forms and structures which the children can climb upon and enjoy.
5. That because we lost a young sister here, and because this island has been cleansed and declared sacred ground by many of our traditional leaders, that it be allowed to remain as such forever.
6. That one small roundhouse be erected, to be used once yearly, each time by representatives of a different tribe, in a ceremony of earth renewal and purification to re-dedicate it to all who love and respect our earth.

Let this proposal be acted upon immediately! Let this be a first step toward sane policies and practices regarding nature and our environment. Let us set an example that all nations of this earth can approve and accept. We must restore all that has been destroyed by greed and ignorance.

In 1976, on the 200th Anniversary of the United States of America, let us truly celebrate. Let us know that the future unborn generations will remember us with love.

This proposal, then, we offer to the citizens of this country, hoping that by its acceptance, a new era of understanding and cooperation between a people of varied cultural backgrounds can at least begin.

Boy Scout Dance

INDIANS RAID CULTURAL RIPOFF

What was intended as a peaceful protest of a whiteman's rip-off of Indian culture became a cavalry charge June 22nd in Walnut Creek California. Four Indians were arrested, and four policemen received minor injuries.

"We heard in the papers that Explorer Scouts were drawing $2 admission to dance 'better than Indians' and preserve our culture," said Dennis Hastings, an Omaha.

He and about 25 others drove up from the Bay area to Las Lomas High School, where 800 people, mostly whites, had gathered to watch the Koshare Indian Dancers – also whites – from LaJunta, Colorado.

A Martinez, Cal., resident, Mrs. Patricia Marangoni, an Ojibwa whose poem Alcatraz Lives appeared in last month's AKWESASNE NOTES, said she had alerted the Indians of All Tribes of the scheduled dance.

When the Indians first arrived at the school, she said they gathered on the lawn in front of the school and decided they should "ask for a chance to speak with the leader of the dance group."

She said the Indians followed a Kiwanian inside the school "where we were met by a white man all dressed up with a full war bonnet which was scraping the ground. The people tried to point out to the chairman of the Kiwanis Club that for the man to be dressed the way he was was "a complete mockery of the Indians and their religion."

The group tried to negotiate for free admission with Daryle Gleason, chairman of the Kiwanis-Club sponsored event. When this did not result in their entry, they proceeded to go to the front door to ask if they "could watch our own dances and customs". During the rush at the door, an Indian woman got hit in the head with a police club, additional officers arrived, and a free-for-all ensued.

"We told him we were there in peace, not violence," Mrs. Marangani emphasized. When reinforcements arrived, the police closed the auditorium doors on the Indians who were watching the show from the doorway, she said.

She feels the police aggravated the situation. "The police in their rudeness," she said, "and complete ignorance of our reasons – plus not giving a damn to find out – were the seed to all the trouble," she said.

Hastings said the action was like a gladiator's show, and people were putting their thumbs down.

The Oakland Tribune quoted Police Lt. John Cashman as saying officer Douglas Silva had his baton wrenched from his hand by an Indian who clubbed him over the head with it, shattering his helmet. "Without the helmet, he would have been killed," the lieutenant said. He did not say why the officer had his baton in his hand, nor whether the Indians were wearing helmets.

Curly Buffalo, 20, also known as Martin Eder, told the police during his arrest: "If I were to get up on the stage and put on a freaky black robe and dance around, that would freak you out, wouldn't it?"

Others arrested were Frank Chase, 23, Frank Davis, 19, and Margaret Lee, 30. All were booked for investigation of assult on a police officer and resisting arrest. The California Highway Patrol, the Contra Costa County sheriff, and neighboring Pleasant Hill sent police reinforcements to eject the Indians. About 35 officers were involved.

Mrs. Lee is a Mission Shoshone, and lives with her three children at the San Francisco Indian Center. Her husband is stationed in Japan with the U.S. Navy. Frank Chase was formerly with the U.S. Marine Corps in Vietnam. A Sioux, he was wounded twice. Martin Eder, also a Sioux, was with the Marine Corps for 1½ years. Frank Davis is a Paiute. All were associated with Indians of All Tribes, the "Alcatraz Indians".

Grand Jury indictments charge assult with a deadly weapon against a police officer and assult with force to produce great bodily harm. Superior Court Judge Joseph Genser refused to reduce $10,000 bail (plus a $2,000 penalty assessment) for each of the men, and $5,000 for Margaret Lee.

Later, bail was reduced to $2,500 after the three had spent time in jail.

The Kiwanis Club said that the group "study and practice for long hours and they definitely are not play acting.

The Koshare Dancers were founded in 1933 and have presented Indian ceremonial dances around the world. They are members of a Boy Scout Explorer Post. As a safety measure, police escorted them out of town when their dances ended.

Buck Burshears, head of the dance troup, said he had permission of Colorado Indian tribes to stage the authentic dances.

Mrs. Marangani warned that continued ignorance of Indians' problems by whites and the government will result only in more militancy on the part of the Indians.

"Your seed of hatred takes many shapes, and we don't like the games you play. We have had many doors slammed in our faces before, and when the doors are closed to us it verifies that there is indeed something to hide.

It is our intention to obliterate racism against all Indian people anywhere we encounter it. The violence encountered in Walnut Creek does not diminish the intent. I am proud of my brothers and sisters who tried the best they could. Others will hear. I am sorry only for those who were injured – and that goes for the police, too."

She denied the Indians were the belligerents, and said they only asked the sponsoring Kiwanis Club to cancel the performance because of the way the leader of the Koshare group, dressed in a full war-bonnet scraping the ground, was attired. "To be dressed in the way he was is a complete mockery of the Indians and their religion," Mrs. Marangoni said.

She also said she lost a brother serving in the Marine Corps and was sure he would approve of what she is doing.

FAREWELL FOR EVER TO EUROPE—THE TRUTH

·BUFFALO BILLS WILD WEST·

HOW THE INDIANS LOST THEIR RELIGIOUS DANCES – AND HOW THE WHITE PEOPLE CAME TO GET THEM

TO SUPERINTENDENTS:

At a conference in October, 1922, of the missionaries of the several religious denominations represented in the Sioux country, the following recommendations were adopted and have been courteously submitted to this office.

1. That the Indian form of gambling or lottery known as the 'Iturapi' (translated give-away) be prohibited.

2. That the Indian dances be limited to one in each month in the daylight hours of one day in the midweek, and at one center in each district; the months of March, April, June, July, and August be excepted.

3. That none take part in the dances or be present who are under 50 years of age.

4. That a careful propaganda be undertaken to educate public opinion against the dances and to provide a healthy substitute.

5. That a determined effort be made by the Government employees in cooperation with the missionaries to pursuade the management of fairs and 'roundups' in the town adjoining the reservations not to commercialize the Indian by soliciting his attendance in large numbers for show purposes.

6. That there be close cooperation between the Government employees and the missionaries in those matters which affect the moral welfare of the Indians.

These recommendations, I am sure, were the result of sincere thought and discussion and in view of their helpful spirit, are worthy of our careful consideration. They agree in the main with my circular number 1665 on Indian dancing. . .

The instinct of individual enterprise and devotion to the prosperity and elevation of family life should be made paramount in every Indian household to the exclusion of idleness, waste of time at frequent gatherings of whatever nature and the neglect of physical resources upon which depend food, clothing, shelter, and the very beginnings of progress.

Of course, we must give tact persuasion and appeal to the Indians' good sense a chance to win ahead of peremptory orders, because our success must often follow a change of honest conviction and surrender of traditions held sacred and we should, therefore especially gain the support of the more enlightened and progressive element among the Indians as a means of showing how the things we would correct or abolish are handicaps to these who practice them. We must go about this work with some patience and charity and do it in a way that will convince the Indian of our fidelity to his best welfare, and in such a spirit we may welcome cooperation apart from our Service, especially from those whose splendid labors and sacrifices are devoted to moral and social uplift everywhere.

. . .The accompanying letter should be given the widest publicity possible among the Indians and if necessary additional copies can be supplied for that purpose. Sincerely yours,

CHARLES H. BURKE, COMMISSIONER

TO ALL INDIANS:

Not long ago, I held a meeting of superintendents, missionaries, and Indians at which the feeling of those present was strong against the Indian dances as they are usually given, and against so much time as is often spent by the Indian in a display of their old customs at public gatherings held by whites. From the view of this meeting and from other information, I feel thatsomething must be done to stop the neglect of stock, crops, gardens and home interests caused by these dances or by celebrations, powwows, and gatherings of any kind that take the time of the Indians for many days.

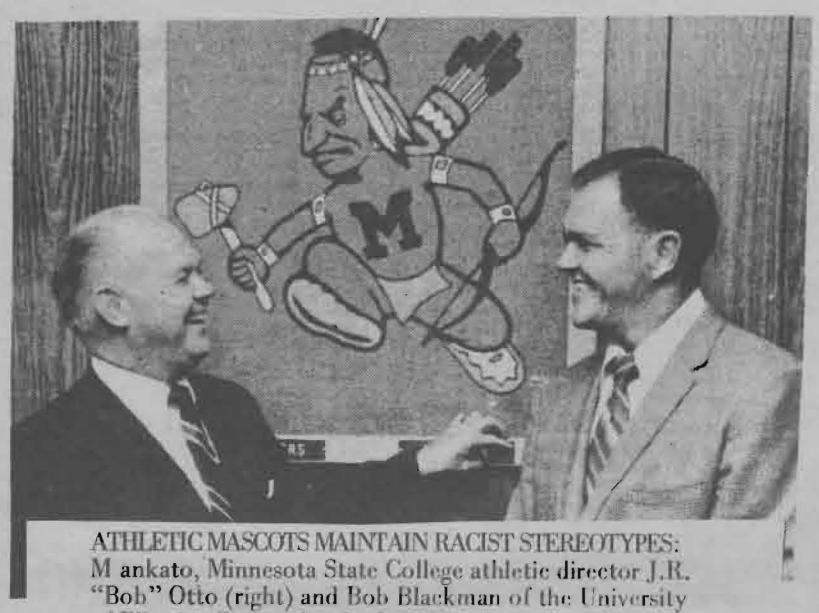
Now what I want you to think about very seriously is that you must first of all try to make your own living, which you cannot do unless you work faithfully and take care of what comes from your labor and go to dances and other meetings only when your home work will not suffer by it. I do not want to deprive you of decent amusements or occasional feast days, but you should not do evil or foolish things, or take so much time for these occasions. No good comes from your "give away" custom at dances and it should be stopped. It is not right to torture your bodies or to handle poisonous snakes in your ceremonies All such extreme things are wrong and should be put aside and forgotten. You do yourselves and your families great injustice when at dances you give away money or other property, perhaps a cow, clothing, a horse, or a team and wagon, and then after an absence of several days go home to find everything going to waste and yourselves with less to work with than you had before.

I could issue an order against these useless and harmful performances, but I would rather have you give them up on your own free will and therefore I ask you now in this letter to do so. I urge you to come to an understanding and an agreement with your Superintendent to hold no gatherings in the months when the seed time, cultivations of crops, and the harvest need your attention, and at other times to meet for only a short period and to have no drugs, intoxicants, or gambling and no dancing that the Superintendent does not approve.

If at the end of one year the reports which I receive show that you are doing as requested, I shall be very glad for I will know that you are making progress in other and more important ways, but if the reports show that you rejeet this plea, then some other course will have to be taken.

With best wishes for your happiness and success, I am,

CHARLES H. BURKE, COMMISSIONER
February 24, 1923



ATHLETIC MASCOTS MAINTAIN RACIST STEREOTYPES: Mankato, Minnesota State College athletic director J.R. "Bob" Otto (right) and Bob Blackman of the University of Illinois. Guess why the Indian isn't smiling too.

SOMEONE SHOULD HELP – the editor of the Indiana, Pennsylvania, Evening Gazette with his English. The following weather report appeared in his July 23rd edition:

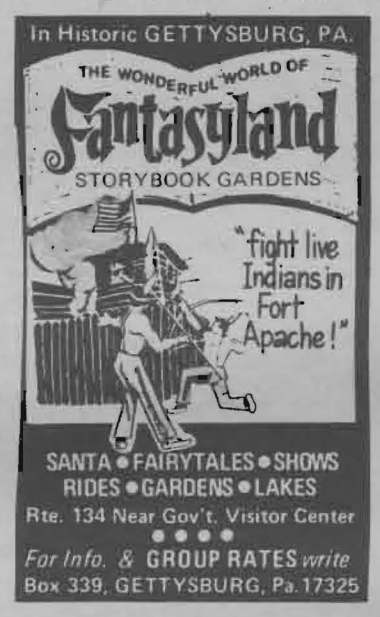
Rain. Rain go away um, Chief Tommy Hawk like to play um. Chief getting tired of rain. Tonight Braves hold stop-um-rain dance in front of soggy teepee.

Indiana is the home of Indiana University whose mascot and name is, you guessed it, the Indians.

AQUA VELVA LOTIONS – have brought the Lone Ranger (and Tonto) back to life. This time the two partners ride the range after sprucing up with a shower and Aqua Velva. That is, the Long Ranger takes a shower. Tonto just grins. We'd suggest a boycott, but since many Indians don't shave, not buying lotion is a weak gesture. Besides, we might never find out what Tonto is grinning about.

*A Rochester, N.Y., Dodge dealer has been running a large advertisement which features a heavy-set old brave wondering "Where all these *!!& Indians come from?" "How me be big hero in Last Stand of '71s at McEvoy Dodge when Last Stand turn all car-buyers into wild Indians?"*

FIGHT LIVE APACHES – and relive your nation's history. And at no place other than Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The advertisement below was sent to us by Howard Garey, who suggests that Fantasyland might want to open more similar ventures, such as "lynching real live niggers" or maybe gassing Jews. The possibilities are endless, once you get thinking about it. The address for Fantasyland is printed on the advertisement, who probably won't thank us even for the free publicity.


In Historic GETTYSBURG, PA.
THE WONDERFUL WORLD OF
Fantasyland
STORYBOOK GARDENS
"fight live Indians in Fort Apache!"
SANTA • FAIRYTALES • SHOWS
RIDES • GARDENS • LAKES
Rte. 134 Near Gov't. Visitor Center
For Info. & GROUP RATES write
Box 339, GETTYSBURG, Pa. 17325

HOPI INDEPENDENT NATION
Mishongnovi Village
Second Mesa, via Arizona

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Winslow, Holbrook, Flagstaff, Arizona

TO HOPI PEOPLE

On behalf of my Hopi people and members of the Order of Antelope and Snake Society in the Village of Mishongnovi on Second Mesa and in order to preserve, maintain and truly protect our sacred religious ceremonies, our culture and our land, I, Starlie Lomayaktewa, Village Kikmongi, today announce to you, the world in general, and to our Hopi People that we are closing our Hopi Antelope and Snake Ceremony TO ALL WHITE PEOPLE this year for the following reasons:

1. To the Hopi People, Antelope and Snake Ceremony is one of the most sacred of all of our ceremonies and must be respected and guarded as such by all people. In the past many of our own Hopi People, as well as our Indian friends who come to participate in a prayer for rain, abundance of food and long life for all living things on this earth are crowded out by so many white tours and students who seemed to have no respect for our sacred rituals.

2. In spite of our repeated warnings and announcements that we do not allow pictures, hand drawings and recordings during the ceremony, yet someone is always doing ' that, thereby creating much resentment among our Hopi people and disturbing the Ceremonial dancers. Today we found that chamber of commerce people in Prescott, Arizona, and other white people are now using our sacred ceremonies for commercial purposes. This must be stopped.

3. Many of our houses in the village are very old and cannot hold up so many people coming up on the house tops. It endangers the houses and the people.

4. This ceremony is not an entertainment or a show for the white people who have no respect for our ceremonies. We have strongly protested against the plans of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the so-called Hopi Tribal Council, and the Housing Authorities to build 60-unit housing project right in our most sacred religious grounds below our mesa. This must be stopped also.

5. Because many of our sacred objects, such as prayer feathers, shrines, have been disturbed and even taken away by white people, we ask the members of the chamber of commerce and the so-called Hopi Tribal Council to stop bringing white tours to our sacred ceremonies.

6. I ask all Hopi People to help us to protect and respect our own religious ceremonies from now on. Let there be no drinking of intoxicating liquor in the village during the ceremony. I appeal to all of our young men to come and help us to see that our demands are respected. If any one wishing to help please contact us as soon as possible. Any one found disturbing this ceremony will be brought before the combined Antelope and Snake members immediately after the conclusion of the ritual.

VILLAGE LEADER STARLIE LOMAYAKTEWA

August 8, 1971

HARD TO KEEP YOUR COOL – Of the 31 entries in the 1971 Miss Indian America competition, 26 women were in college, four of those working on their masters degree. "So it's kind of hard to keep your cool when a non-Indian walks up to your chaperone while you're in Indian dress and says, 'Does she speak English?' " says Virginia Stroud, last year's winner.

JOHN WAYNE has won the Freedoms Foundation Award for his "consistent and unabashed loyalty to his country." Wayne has never been in the Armed Forces, however, so perhaps his loyalty comes from the Indian fights on the screen. Recently Wayne complained to an interviewer about the "cradle to the grave" care the Indians get from the government. Seems as how Wayne and his partners in Arizona cotton land drew $810,000 in federal subsidies in 1970.

THE WIGWAM STORES – in the Seattle area feature the cute little fellow below. Washington State Indians will know what to do about shopping here. Don't forget your Bankamericard.

LETTERWRITERS, TO YOUR MARKS – The commentary below is from the cover of a school tablet sold for 39 cents by Stuart Hall Co., Inc., Kansas City, Missouri 64108. It is part of their BIG CHIEF series – we don't know what horrors are printed on others in the series about our leaders and heroes. Write them about spreading racism at a time when the U.S. doesn't need any more – especially to children.

GERONIMO: Born 1829, Died 1909—Typical Apache in appearance. Short, broad and muscular —cunning, bloodthirsty and great talker—outlaw even to his own people—hunted by both U. S. and Mexican forces. Eventually Geronimo and his band surrendered and were sent to Florida then to Oklahoma where he died at the age of 80.

No matter the size of your tribe or the scope of your meeting, the Flamingo can handle it with ease. We have an experienced and skilled convention staff.

Have no reservations about the success of your meeting or convention when you plan on the Flamingo. It's bound to be a heap big success!

For this year's Pow Wow, whoop it up at the Flamingo in Las Vegas.

— Exposed to View —

52 Skeletons in a single grave

Ceremonial fire site

Many interesting artifacts

MODERN CAMP GROUNDS

Showers—Electricity Available

Clean Rest Rooms

Dumping Station

OLD INDIAN BURIAL

(Earl Richardson, proprietor)

ST. IGNACE, MICHIGAN

Historic

Authentic

Informative

Indians observing the mass Mackinaw City Pageant feel these non Indians masquerading as Indians are flaunting valued, and sometimes sacred, Indian traditions.

"Death Zoo for Tourist" Protested

LANSING, MICH. . .(AIPA). . .A protest against a "Death Zoo for tourists" was scheduled for Memorial Day week-end at two Northern Michigan sites sponsored by the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance.

Protest targets are Ft. Michilimackinac at the southern end of the Mackinac Straits Bridge where the annual reenactment of an 18th Century "massacre" is staged by a non-Indian Boy Scout troop, and Totem Village, a souvenir shop and campground at St. Ignace - northern side of the Mackinac Bridge - which is located on a historic Chippewa burial ground.

The Youth Alliance, primarily youths from the Chippewa and Potawatomi Nations, charges that the reenactment and life-size displays at the fort are grossly distorted and present tourists with a misleading historical perspective.

The battle (massacre) referred to is Pontiac's attack on the hated British at the fort in which 23 soldiers were killed.

Directors of the Alliance say that Totem Village operators have unearthed graves and display the bodies for tourist dollars. They say that "authentic" Indian beadwork sold at Totem Village and other souvenir shops in St. Ignace is of the authentic Hong Kong variety.

The Alliance has listed three demands:

-The closing of the Fort until medical, educational and cultural centers for modern Indians are established and functioning, operated by Indians.

-The boycott of Michigan by tourists until all Indian pageants and celebrations are written, directed and demonstrated by Indians for the economic benefit of Indians.

-The right to give our exposed dead decent Indian burials, and the passage of firm laws prohibiting all digs in Indian burial grounds wherever they may be.

Archaeologists and the Indians

Sir,—The paleface is at it again with your "Russia invades America" (June 14). Arrowheads found in Kamshatka in the Soviet Far East, Siberian Yakutia and the Amur River valley are similar to those of early American inhabitants, says an archeologist. We have also been told that stone tools and arrowheads of the Iroquois, Algonquins, Sioux, Crees, etc. are all different.

The Bering Strait theory is an attempt by the white man to justify his presence in America and to make the red man think he, too, is an alien in his own land. When they find the Mohawk language in Asia I shall accept the theory.

An archaeologist is one who dusts the bones of someone else's ancestors. The first duty of the archaeologist is to reassure his employers that their ancestors were smarter than those of other races and nations. He does this by finding skulls with brain cases smaller (less brains) than his employers.

This is the reason why thick-headed white men have to be shown how to survive in a natural environment by smaller headed natives.

Louis Hall,
Caughnawaga.

Early, Early Indians

Poverty Point, a 2,600 year-old Indian city near Epps in East Carroll Parish, La. is the oldest known habitat of man in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Its central mound contains 35 times the cubic volume of the Great Pyramid of Egypt and measures 640 feet by 710 feet at its base. It is nearly 70 feet high.

SAN FRANCISCO — An ancient Indian burial ground has been returned to its aboriginal owners, according to a joint announcement by the American Indian Historical Society and the Ohlone Indian Tribe of California.

The Society found more than 200 descendants of the Ohlones still living. Since then, they have incorporated under state laws. Phillip Galvan, whose ancestors lie buried in the cemetary, was selected treasurer Although there are no grave markers, in conformity with Indian tradition, the Ohlone families know the burial sites of their relatives. It is believed that more than 4,000 persons are buried there.

Some of the burials are bodies of Indians removed from the Mission cemetery when segregation was instituted in the nearby Mission cemetary in 1896.

The Ohlone people, long believed extinct, is the recipient of the 2½ acre burial ground at Fremont, California, just one mile west of the Mission San Jose. It was turned over by the Historical Society, which received the deed from the Bishop of the Oakland Diocese in 1965.

Indian Chief Asks Return Of Skeleton Found Near City

Watertown Daily Times
Watertown, N. Y.
July 9, 1971

LOWVILLE — Arthur S. Einhorn, curator of the Lewis County Historical Society, said today that Thomas Porter, acting chief of the Bear clan of Akwesasne, (St. Regis Indian Reservation) at Hogansburg, had been contacted to take possession of the Indian skeleton found June 15 on the Cemetery Road near Dry Hill.

Mr. Einhorn said that he and Dr. James B. Shaeffer, director of the Jefferson County Historical Society, had decided to return the skeleton to Thomas Porter for reburial. Mr. Porter had written a letter to Dr. Shaeffer requesting that the skeleton be returned to his Indian tribe for reburial.

"We have heard that recently one of our grandmothers, who was put into the earth to rest many years ago, was accidentally disturbed in your area. We would like to see that she is properly restored with her mother, the earth, with the ceremony and the words that go with that, in the ancient manner."

The letter from Mr. Porter, also known as Sakokwenonk, continues:

"Many times people of the sciences do not respect the dead, and instead of making matters right, cause further difficulties by taking the bones into their own houses and places of work and storing them there, or bothering them further.

"We trust that this is not the case with your own self and society, being so close to Indian communities at Akwesasne and Onondaga," Mr. Porter adds. "We look forward to your cooperation in this matter, and letting us know when we can come to Watertown for the remains of one of our people which is now in your possession."

Mr. Porter's letter concludes, "This is the time when the strawberries are ripe and we celebrate that once more the cycle of life has turned so that we can taste the wild berries; sincerely we hope that it is the same with you."

July 5, 1971

ONLY IN AMERICA

The Smoki tribe, a group of Arizonans dedicated to the preservation of ancient Indian dances and ceremonies, will stage its 50th ceremonial Aug. 1 at the Prescott fairgrounds. For more than three hours the Indian-costumed white men will perform tribal dances in a large replica of ancient ceremonial grounds.

"The ceremonial requires a month of rehearsing — and a helluva lot of beer. It is our only fund-raising activity. Everything is authentic. We research everything all the way to the Smithsonian Institution, if necessary.

"The only reason for the ceremonial is to preserve Indian lore. And now, the Indians come to watch us."

Indian artifacts destroyed

POUCE COUPE, B.C. (CP) — A unique collection of Indian artifacts and paintings with a total value of $50,000 was lost when fire destroyed a home on a farm near this northern British Columbia community Saturday.

The collection, built up during the past eight years, and the newly-remodelled house, itself worth some $30,000, belonged to Herb Maisey, director of adult education in Dawson Creek.

Artifacts from several Indian nations—mainly Cree in the Peace River country—made up part of the collection.

STAN STEINER, of Santa Fe, who has been active for years reporting on Indian events presents Martin Link, Director of the Tribal Museum, a doorknocker from the home of Clyde Kluckhohn. A widely known anthropologist Kluckhohn specialized in Navajo and Indian subjects and wrote a number of books on the subject. Steiner said, "For years anthropologists have been collecting 'Navajo artifacts; I think the time has come for the Navajos to collect anthropologists 'artifacts'." (Staff photo.)

Photo by Stuart Davis

CLEVELAND (LNS) — Cleveland dignitaries re-enacted the July 22, 1796 landing here of surveyor Moses Cleveland, and were met by a band of hostile Indians who were not a part of the script.

Cleveland ad man Clay Herrick, decked out in colonial clothing and boots, turned to the skipper of the Goodtime II as it came up the Cuyahoga River to the spot where the original party had landed. "This looks like a good place," he called.

"We might be 175 years late," shouted Russell Means, a leader of the Cleveland American Indian Movement, "but we're imposing an immigration law. Go back."

Placards held by the Indians proclaimed the whitemen's sesquicentennial re-enactment of the landing a "celebration of your mistakes," and other signs deplored the use of Chief Wahoo, the baseball Indian emblem; the Wounded Knee massacre, Gen. Custer and Lt. Calley, Hitler and the FBI.

As the landing party's ship experienced trouble in swinging around to the dock, Means shouted, "I wish you had had this much trouble 175 years ago."

The Indians told Clay Herrick, president of the Early Settlers Association, and his companions that they would refuse to let the dignitaries off the boat unless they agreed to let the Indians speak first at the dedication ceremonies.

The white men, who had originally asked for two fully-costumed Indians to take part in the replay, agreed to the demand.

Means addressed the crowd. He pointed out that Moses Cleveland's Indian treaty, signed at Buffalo just before he came here, said whites would not live west of the Cuyahoga River.

"It's ironic," he said, "that all the whites live on the West Side now."

He demanded that all monies being spent for Cleveland's sesquicentennial celebration be allocated toward cleaning up the pollution brought to his virgin paradise by Cleveland and his followers.

He called the sesquicentennial commission's request for two Indians to participate passively in the re-enactment of Cleveland's landing "an insult to our intelligence."

Means told the crowd that the Indians have been "pushed around" by the white man for longer than the 175 years, and it was time the Indians were "given a break".

The Cuyahoga River is famous as the Burning River, so polluted that will catch afire.

Minneapolis Tribune 11 July 23, 1971

Indians seize archeological dig

By Michael Ponsor
Staff Writer

Welch, Minn.
Clyde Bellecourt, director of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and a group of his followers Thursday took over an archeological site being dug by Twin Cities high school students.

The Indians burned notes and archeological tools, carried away arrowheads and other artifacts unearthed by the students, and exposed rolls of film taken of the site.

AIM members said they objected to the students' "digging up our sacred burial grounds."

About 45 students, sponsored by the Twin Cities Institute for Talented Youth, were to complete their five-week archeology field trip today. Their digging and research on land near Welch had given preliminary indications that the land had been the site of an Indian village about 1000 A.D.

Les Peterson, a Minnesota historical Society archeologist, who headed the dig, said:

"Five weeks of work down the drain."

According to Peterson and some of the students, this is what happened:

Bellecourt and about a dozen other Indians came to the site at about 5 p.m., when Peterson and eight students were there. (The other students had quit work for the day). AIM members took shovels away from the students and filled in trenches. Dirt from the carefully plotted trenches was being sifted by the students in order to find Indian relics.

The Indians took a large box of artifacts, including arrowheads, stone flakes, projectile points and stone scrapers used to clean animal skins. All had been unearthed by the students.

They also burned notes of the dig and tacked color slides to the walls of the Welch Village Ski Chalet, where the students had been sleeping for the past five weeks.

Two Twin City Institute teachers were in the chalet when the Indians came in, Skip Olson from Jordan Junior High and Daniel Willette from Ramsey Junior High, both in Minneapolis. Olson said he was slapped by one of the Indians..

There was a bit of pushing between students and Indians until Peterson told the students not to resist. The young people then invited the Indians to supper, an invitation which was declined. AIM people left by 6 p.m.

Peterson said the Indians had not previously objected to their dig and that they gave no warning yesterday.

Daniel Dalton, assistant AIM program director for youth, said last night that the students were "exhuming graves that they had no legal right to do so." He said if Indians molested white men's graves, they would promptly be thrown into jail.

Another AIM member, Richard Lagarde, said the group just found out about the dig yesterday and decided to do something to break it up.

The Goodhue County Sheriff's office investigated. No charges were filed last night.

The student and professional archeologists left by bus last night and do not plan to return to the site. Dave Nystuen, a historical society archeologist, said he wouldn't "touch the site with a 29-foot pole."

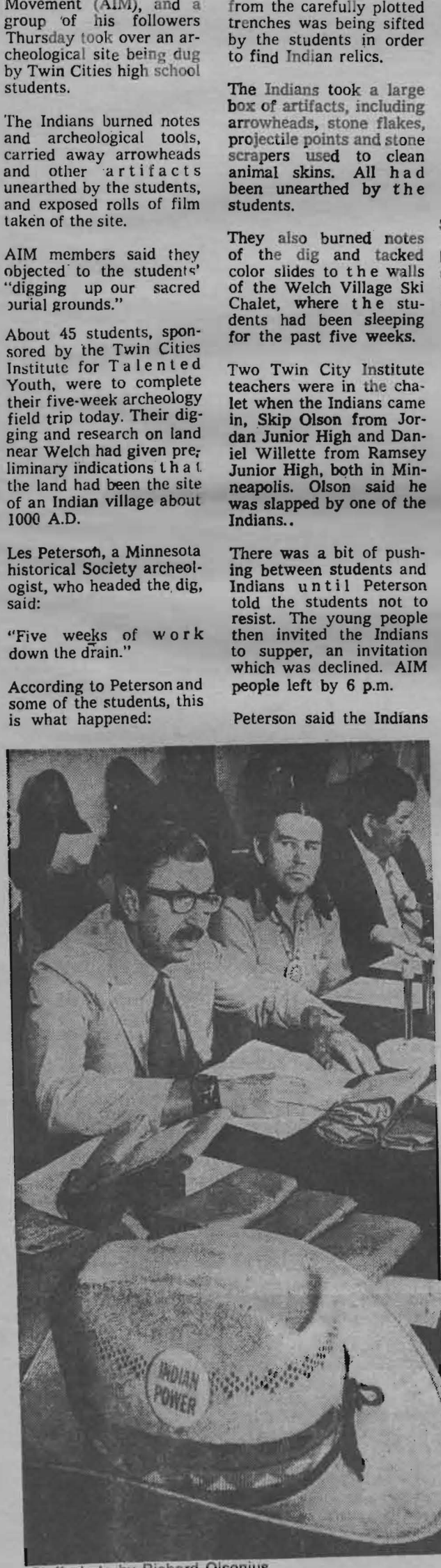
"As far as I'm concerned, it's ruined," he said. "You can only do an excavation once. If it's done once and messed up, it's ruined."

TCI director Charles Caruson, who came out to the site after the incident, said, "Our intention was not to provoke insult or conflict, but to create a more sensitive insight into another culture."

A 17-year-old student, Terry Pfutzenreuter of St. Paul's Murray High School, said the Indians' actions made her lose respect for the Indian movement.

She still wants to have a career in archeology, Pfutzenreuter said. "This incident made me aware of one more aspect of it."

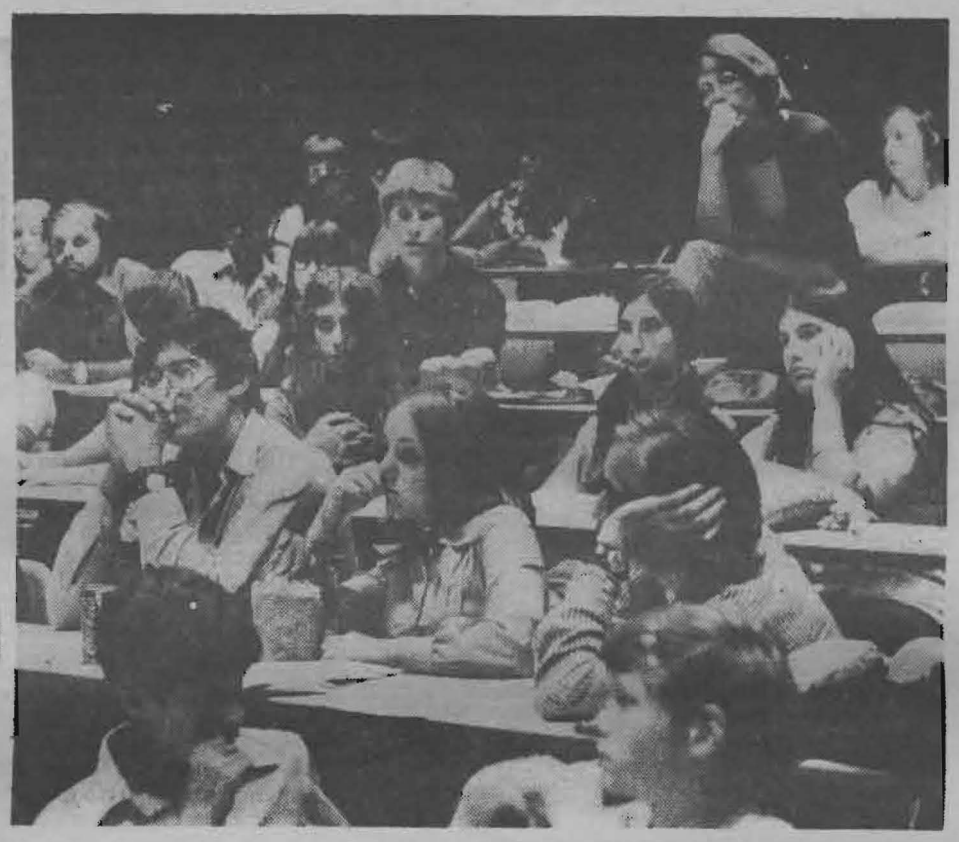
ST. PAUL, Minn. (AP) — Arrowheads and other artifacts seized by Indians after high school students unearthed them in an archaeological dig near Welch, Minn., have been turned over to the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission.



Staff photo by Richard Olsenius

Charles Caruson, director of the institute that sponsored the Welch project, spoke Friday at a news conference. Next to him was Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement. At right was Artley Skenandore, executive director of the State Indian Affairs Commission.

Dan Dalton



Staff Photo by Mike Zerby

High-school students studying archeology for the summer heard American Indian Movement (AIM) representatives explain their viewpoint of an incident at the Welch, Minn., dig. One girl, upper right, sat on top of her desk as AIM member Dan Dalton said, "We did not bury our people to be dug up by a following culture . . ."

Indians, students differ

Members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) said Friday they don't want any more digging of Indian artifacts in Minnesota.

Bellecourt said it was necessary to destroy the equipment to stop the work. He offered to reimburse the students for the lost equipment. The artifacts, he said, would be reburied on the site in a special inter-tribal ceremony.

Charles Caruson, director of the Twin City Institute for Talented Youth which sponsored the dig, admitted there may have been "a mistake in communication," but added, "our intentions were to save not destroy."

He declined the offer of reimbursement from Bellecourt.

Artley Skenandore, executive director of the State Indian Affairs Commission, said that the artifacts taken from the site dated from 1000-1500 A.D. There were no human remains among the artifacts, he said.

Skenandore said that he "deplored the destruction of personal property," but added, "We will not stand for the desecration of our Indian burial grounds."

Bellecourt and Skenandore said that no archeological work should be allowed on former Indian land without full prior consent from Indians.

Students involved in the dig talked with Indians informally during the press conference.

One, Clare Rossini, 17, from Derham Hall High School in St. Paul, was in tears as she tried to explain the care the students had taken on the site and the respect they had had for Indian culture.

"We were trying to preserve their culture," said Jinny Miller, 15, from St. Agnes High in St. Paul, "not destroy it."

Students had planned to spend a day on the site living as the Indians had done there, including the eating of a wild herb dinner.

The site is owned by a man who planned to build a house on the property. When he learned it might contain historical relics, he agreed to postpone construction until the dig was completed.

Indian group delays Hiawatha Pageant

PIPESTONE, Minn. (AP) — Sunday's presentation of the annual Hiawatha Pageant was performed without incident after a group of about 20 American Indians delayed the show for two hours Saturday night.

The group included members of the Minneapolis-based American Indian Movement (AIM) and was led by Clyde Bellecourt, AIM executive director.

The pageant, a dramatization of the Longfellow poem "Hiawatha," has been presented at Pipestone for 23 years. AIM members called the pageant a "fairy tale, phony and awful."

Before the show was to begin Saturday AIM members stepped onto the grassy area used as a stage and said they would leave only after addressing the audience.

"You run your little shows with warpaints," Bellecourt told the 4,000 persons in the audience. "We are not savages. Pipestone is part of our religion and culture."

The southwestern Minnesota city is the site of Pipestone National Monument. According to Sioux legend, the soft stone in the quarry was stained its reddish color by the blood of Sioux warriors fallen in battle. The stone has long been used to make sacred peace pipes.

Indians spoke for about two hours, and asked the audience to leave. Neither the spectators nor the Indians left, however, and there were several verbal exchanges between the two groups during the pageant.

AIM board member Gerald Roy said such presentations of stereotyped Indians prevent whites from seeing Indians as real people.

Glenn Olson, a spokesman for the sponsoring Hiawatha Club, said the pageant was "Based on legend and folklore" and was never proclaimed to be Indian truth.

Robert Owens, originator of the show, said the reason only two of the 100 actors in the pageant are Indians is that he found Indians did not show up at practice sessions.

"You can't trust them," he said.

Sherburne research dig is resumed

Associated Press

St. Cloud, Minn.
Archaeological field work has been resumed by personnel from St. Cloud State College in the Sherburne National Wildlife Refuge. The research work had been protested by Indians.

The college had voluntarily suspended the project near Princeton, Minn., last Wednesday until it provided information requested by Artley Skenandore, director of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission.

College President Charles Graham said in a statement during the weekend: "Now that the information has been provided we are resuming the project on a limited scale. Survey work and excavation of village sites will continue. However, there be no new excavation of burial mounds at this time."

Minneapolis Tribune
Tues., Aug. 3, 1971

July 26, 1971

Minneapolis Tribune

— LETTERS . . .

Indians' rights disregarded

Members of the American Indian Movement unsuccessfully attempted to claim rights to the Twin Cities Naval Air Station. At the time of their removal, they had in their possession a document which justified the occupation of this land. The treaty said that Indians have the right to claim any federally abandoned land. Why then, were they removed from land which was rightfully theirs? What right had the federal government to remove them? How can I, as a human being and citizen, put my trust in a government which rejects its own people and the rights that they hold? The Indians once put their trust in the government of the United States, and what have they got to show for it? They are treated as second-class citizens, in the very country that was once theirs. Still, they are people of this country, and therefore hold the inalienable rights granted. — **Jack E. Stevens, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn.**

Leave Gawboy family alone

I read in the newspaper about Robert Gawboy and how the government is trying to force him off his land (in Voyageurs Park area), and I don't think it is fair. Other people should put themselves in his place and feel what it is like to be a different color and to have white people kick you off the land you love and want to keep forever.

Can the government really pay Gawboy for all the meaning that land has? I very strongly feel that they should leave the Gawboy family alone.—**Pat Lieske, seventh grade, Fridley Junior High School.**

Indians should integrate

The farce of integration is that it depends on who is doing the asking. The Indians don't want to integrate; the black people do. So we are forced to integrate with the blacks, forced to keep the Indians segregated because this is what they want. Why can't we be consistant?

I did not take land from the Indians. No one gave us our land—we had to work and earn it, the same as lots of people. It's time for the Indians to integrate and quit living something that happened before they and we were born.—**Mrs. Arklove Johnson, Fridley.**

Treatment of Indians

The writer of a June 7 letter appears to be of the opinion that all Indians should be forced to integrate into the white society, and that they should forget some of the less-than-golden moments which occurred during the "civilizing" of the frontier. With the aid of cajolery, threats, cheap liquor and, of course, a strong army, the U.S. government managed to bilk and/or steal from the Indians everything it coveted. Anyone who disagrees might care to suggest just what the Indians received by way of equitable exchange for their lands.

My Lai and other Vietnamese massacres have nothing on Wounded Knee, Sand Creek and other scenes of atrocities toward the red man too numerous to mention. To suggest that the Indian erase all this from his mind and assimilate into white society is beyond my comprehension. Forcing, or in any way coercing, the Indian into this society with the consequent loss of any remnants of an age-old culture would be the final depredation toward him that this country could commit.—**Gary Peterson, Bethel, Minn.**

A recent letter asked why we aren't consistent toward minority groups. My answer: We are. This country has lied to the Indians, consistently. We've taken their land, many times without payment — unless you call two horse blankets, a barrel of flour, some tin utensils and a knife payment for a large piece of land. We've tried to make them into red whitemen. They are stereotyped as ignorant, dirty and shiftless. Pretty consistent, wouldn't you say?

I may not have been alive when Sitting Bull was assassinated, but I am responsible for how I treat an Indian, and for how the Indian is treated by others today.—**Barb Chismar, Minneapolis.**

Misunderstanding Indians

"Minnesota people are trying to understand and be helpful." So says the editorial from the New Ulm Daily Journal in respect to the "bad manners" expressed toward an Aquatennial float in the Torchlight Parade (reprinted in the Tribune July 29).

When a community newspaper editorial states that its people like Indians and that its high-school athletic teams wear the nickname "Indians" with pride and courage, there certainly seems to be a misunderstanding on the part of that community. The very idea that "its people like Indians" seems to exclude Indians from the people themselves.

An Indian is not a symbol! An Indian is a human being. I have never heard of an athletic team referred to by the nicknames "Negroes," "Mexicans" or "Puerto Ricans." And if Ohio has the Cleveland Indians, maybe this illustrates a national misunderstanding, not just a local one.

As for the five pretty young girls on the float and the Sleepy Eye Chamber of Commerce not being out to belittle Indians new or old, I am in agreement. But some Indians and people of other races were still belittled!

A lack of understanding exists. This understanding goes as far back as to when men murdered Indian people and stole their land in the process. The violent reaction toward the float was wrong, but not understanding the cause of that reaction is far worse.—**Charles A. Lipkin, St. Louis Park.**

Minorities called pampered

If a group of my friends and neighbors who are ex-servicemen had banded together and marched on the Twin Cities Naval Air Station demanding that it be turned into a recreation area for former service personnel, we would have been ordered off, and, if we failed to comply, would have been marched off at the point of a bayonet and probably hailed into court. The government would have had every right to treat us or any other group in such a manner because we would have been trespassers on government property.

But let a group of Indians pull this, and everybody falls over each other trying to make them feel perfectly at home, make them comfortable in their illegal maneuvering and give blessing to something that is nothing less than civil law-breaking. I, for one, am fed-up with this kind of pampering of dissident minority groups, and I imagine a half-million other disgusted Minnesotans would like to join me.

Where are the public officials who have enough backbone to stand up and call civil disobedience by its true name? Who will denounce actions such as this and who will demand we do away with kid-glove handling just because a group happens to have a different color or comes from a different level of society? — **Warren Phifer, Golden Valley.**

Indians have treaty rights

The letter from a reader who thinks the Indian occupation of the Twin Cities Naval Air Station led to official "pampering" of minorities cannot go unanswered. His comparison of the Indian action with what might have happened if his ex-servicemen "friends and neighbors" had done the same thing is hollow.

His "friends and neighbors" would not have been armed with a treaty which provides that the land could be repossessed by the Indians, once it was abandoned by the federal government. That land on which the "friends and neighbors" built suburban retreats came from the same source: the Indians. It was taken from them by force and trickery, so now if they want to reclaim a tiny portion of it—even at the cost of shaking up the establishment—who besides a court of equity is to say they are wrong? —**John P. King, Monticello, Minn.**

What about today's Indians?

You cannot imagine with what bitter irony young Indian people view the painstaking devotion of high-school students to Indians who died 1,000 years ago, as at the dig at Welch, Minn. That they should go to such extraordinary trouble to obtain these artifacts, with the stated purpose of saving Indian culture, while the culture of living Indians is being capriciously and/or brutally destroyed each day! Or that white people's interest in Indians is excited by recreations of the Indian past (as interpreted by a white man) at the sacred pipestone quarry — a pageant run by whites, acted by whites, employing whites and viewed by whites, I might add.

The story of Indian people is not to be found in phony pageants which exploit the Indian as a tourist attraction or portray him as a noble savage — or in the current trend of viewing Indians as interesting primitives who have retained their ties with nature, relevant within the context of the ecology movement. It is not the Indian as historical curiosity.

The story is in the suicide statistics for Indian teenagers, the infant-mortality rates, the theft of Indian land and the removal of Indian children from their homes to schools where they are forbidden to speak their own language, where their spirits are systematically crushed day by day. The Indian children they find hanging in jails with such grim regularity are not statistics to us, however. They are our friends, our sisters and brothers. The dead babies are our own.

There are no Head Start classes in the Phillips area of Minneapolis, where Indians live. The Indian teen center closed several months ago for lack of funds. There are no Indian firemen in the Minneapolis Fire Department. The Community Service Officers program, a federal program to recruit minorities for the Police Department, has no Indian participants.

There is no group home in St. Paul as an alternative to jail for young Indians. White kids go home for a second, third, fourth chance. Indians rot in jail. Perhaps your readers recall the news story of a 9-year-old Indian boy horribly burned as he scrubbed an oven at 5:30 in the morning in one of these places where white men put Indian children.

People whose tastes run to land grabs might investigate the Northern States Power Co. vs. the Lac Court Oreilles band of Chippewas case, involving 6,000 acres of land on the Chippewa Flowage in Wisconsin.

There is a lot for the white man to gain by studying Indians. But it is not in the metaphor of the amusing aborigine or the relic of the past. And the American Indian Movement is trying to tell you that Indians are living people, with problems essentially caused by white people thinking about Indians in these terms. — **Dulcie Alfton, Minneapolis.**

Our debt to the Indians

After three centuries of stealing the continent, desecrating the religion, attempting to destroy the culture, dehumanizing Indians and following a policy of racial genocide, we are still following some of these policies in our relationship with Indian people. In the Twin Cities Naval Air Station arrests and handling of this situation, we did not kill the men, as in the past, but certainly this can be deadly to the spirit.

I would like to see some positive action to fulfill the wishes, plans and needs of Indian people for an Indian cultural-education center and whatever else Indians feel they need for cultural identity, training or basic human needs. This is such a small request of a majority who owe to native Americans this whole country, many products, a philsosophy, a form of federal government, art forms, music, poetry and much else.—**Mrs. Ewald Schelert, Coon Rapids.**

Indians appreciate support

During our occupation of the Twin Cities Naval Air Station, we received support from a great number of non-Indians as well as from our own fine people. Their support continued in helping to raise our legal defense fund. I am really thankful for the outstanding show of brotherhood. —**Jerry Roy, American Indian Movement, Inc., Minneapolis.**

Air-base head questions Catholics' aid to Indians

By Peg Meier
Staff Writer

The commander of the Naval Air Station, which was occupied by Indians in May, appeared as a Roman Catholic layman before a diocesan Catholic welfare organization Monday night to question its funding of the American Indian Movement (AIM), which led the occupation.

John Gebhart, commander of the base, asked the screening committee of the Christian Sharing Fund (CSF) if it intentionally supports groups engaging in activities "that could result in damage to individuals or property."

Gebhart stressed that he was speaking as an individual, not a naval officer.

He said the Indian occupation of his base drew his attention to AIM but that his concern is with the entire screening and funding procedures of the one-year-old CSF which gave $9,500 this year to Minnesota AIM chapters.

He touched off the ire of about 30 AIM members in attendance when he asked why the CSF funds groups that "teach segregation," "practice pagan religion" and "participate in illegal activities."

There is a great deal of hostility in the Twin Cities Catholic community, Gebhart said, "for what the CSF represents."

Dennis Banks, Minneapolis AIM chairman, charged that Gebhart's investigation into CSF funding amounted to a "personal attack on AIM from a non-Indian white commander" who "lost control of his ship when we came out there" (to the base).

When AIM Indians occupied the abandoned air base, on the northern edge of the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport, they claimed that treaty rights empowered them to take over the property. Federal marshals ousted them early one morning, after a five-day occupation.

Banks and the other Indians insisted upon calling Gebhart "commander" and referring to his military background, although

John Gebhart
Gebhart repeatedly said that his involvement was simply that of a concerned Catholic.

CST officials said the body's support of AIM helps to pay rent, heat, electricity, phone and newsletter costs.

Donald Hall, CSF chairman, said groups applying for money are screened initially and are reexamined quarterly. The fund is used to support "an idea . . . a purpose" and "we don't second-guess every decision of every group," he said. Money is granted to groups striving for self-determination so the CSF can't umpire every action, Hall said.

When Gebhart referred to pagan religions, AIM official Charles Robertson said it was people such as "the commander" who "made persons such as myself willingly leave the Catholic church." Other AIM members said that Indians live with nature and with love and do not bow down to statues, as they said Catholics do.

They also charged that Gebhart's association with the U.S. Navy and consequently with the war in Southeast Asia are clearly more of an immoral and illegal nature than was their occupation of the air base or disruptions of recent parades.

AIM's tactics: Right or wrong?

An editorial in the Red Wing Republican Eagle

There are a lot of things wrong with what's been happening at the Ft. Sweney archaeological site in Welch. And while last week's invasion by a group of militant Indians was clearly the worst of the worst, that episode should not be the start of the story.

First off, there were a goodly number of responsible history buffs who were decidedly unenthused at the prospect that a group of Twin Cities high school kids were digging around in the Ft. Sweney site.

The fort, you'll recall, was one of two Goodhue County archeological sites included in the 1971 National Register of Historic Places.

Compounding the issue is the question of whether the fort really was a fort — or whether it was a unique burial site. Rising as it does in a triangular shape above the Cannon River, the site, less than an acre, could have served either purpose admirably.

Why should a group of amateurs be disrupting such a site before the historical question has been settled? Had their grant been public rather than private, it's likely that the digging could have been stopped.

Earlier excavations at the site turned up important artifacts and led to the conclusion that the area was one of the last stands of the Iowan Indians who were being pushed westward by the Sioux and Cree, who in turn were being pushed westward by the march of the white man.

The site is the only one of its type in the state, standing almost surrounded by water and connecting to the mainland only by a narrow footpath, thus making it an ideal defense position.

The site is now held in private hands, an unfortunate development from the standpoint of being a historic site. Robert Smith, ski instructor and canoe outfitter at Welch, purchased the property about two years ago. At one point he had thoughts of building a house on the property, but now says he's not sure.

Our own preference would be to see the site preserved in some fashion for public use — but definitely not for amateur archaeologists.

At the same time, we certainly don't condone the strong-arm tactics of Bellecourt. By coming in and tearing up the site, he probably did more damage than had the students by digging for five weeks. His motives appear more along the lines of gaining publicity than anything.

Disagrees with Bellecourt

I was appalled at the action taken by Clyde Bellecourt and his followers at the Welch, Minn., archeological site. If Bellecourt thinks pushing around a small group of high-school students can be overlooked by labeling it "American Indian Movement," he is badly mistaken.

I am part Cherokee and proud of my ancestors for their great respect for honor. The so-called objectionable digging was not a malicious act and was obviously done in the interest of culture. It took place on private property with the permission of its owner, who planned to dig it up anyhow.

Instead of an asset, Bellecourt is a disgrace to a very worthy cause. I can't believe the majority of Indians support this man and what he stands for.—**Danny Hargrove, Minneapolis.**

Sensitivity

The confrontation between students from the Twin City Institute for Talented Youth and members of the American Indian Movement has prompted some interesting observations.

The students, teachers and project planners stated—and accurately—that the potential for learning and understanding in the archeological dig far surpassed what is offered in the classroom. It was further stated that so much of what they are exposed to in school is make-believe, whereas this project brought them closer to the reality of Indian culture.

This is true—and yet the Indians' response and the confrontation itself hopefully brought them closer to the reality of the Indians' feelings today. That is what "relevance" is really all about—and what we want our young people to feel. — **Mrs. Sharon Howell, Willmar, Minn.**

Where does it end? First, the Indians' land was stolen by the white man; now he wants what the Indians buried under that land.

I say hurrah for Clyde Bellecourt and his AIM group who stopped the digging at Welch, Minn., and another hurrah for Artley Skenandore (executive director of the State Indian Affairs Commission), who said digging on former Indian land should not be allowed without consent from Indians.

The Welch diggings were done by a group of school kids and young teachers and served no other purpose than to teach the kids to dig. Let them dig up their own yards. Indians have known little peace since the white man landed here; they should at least be allowed to rest in peace.—**Lorna E. Dodor, St. Paul.**

. . . at the Welch archaeological site

Minneapolis Tribune
July 28, 1971

Issues in the protests

The American Indian Movement (AIM) dramatized some legitimate issues in its protest activities last week, but AIM chose at least one questionable target and employed some reprehensible tactics.

The target and the tactics were especially questionable in the seizure of a student archeological dig in Welch, Minn. The Indians burned notes and tools and exposed rolls of film to stop what they claimed was a desecration of sacred burial grounds. That would be a legitimate issue if such had been the case. But the students, from the Twin Cities Institute for Talented Youth, apparently had not disturbed any graves and were recovering ancient artifacts before a house is built on the privately-owned site. The project supervisors did make a mistake in failing to consult with Indians. Yet they gave every indication after the incident that they would have been willing to rectify the mistake if given the chance.

The AIM attempt to disrupt the Aquatennial Torchlight Parade in Minneapolis was also ill-conceived. The overall issue, depiction in the parade of make-believe Indians who desecrate Indian culture, is a legitimate one. But Aquatennial officials have been receptive to Indian participation. A top official met with representatives of a large number of Indian organizations last November to explain the opportunities for such participation and says he received no response afterward. The Aquatennial sponsors say it is not their policy to help finance entrants in festival events.

Despite the questionable tactics, the issues should not be forgotten. Whites in many cases continue to show a callous disregard for Indian burial grounds. Too many white-sponsored festivals, including the Aquatennial, still lack genuine portrayals of Indian culture, even though that culture is so important a part of the history of a state like Minnesota. And when whites do attempt to portray Indian history, as in Pipestone, where AIM also staged a protest, the result is often a distortion, with little or no Indian participation.

The issues can be met. Rep. Robert Bergland of Minnesota has introduced a bill that would require Indian approval for any archeological digs on Indian sites when federally-assisted projects are involved. He hopes to find a way to extend the requirement to all such sites. Aquatennial officials could make a greater effort to broaden the cultural aspects of their festival, possibly by finding sponsors for genuine Indian entries, even if that would mean relaxing present policies. And white sponsors of Indian pageants should do more to obtain Indian consultation and participation in their events, if they sincerely want to make accurate presentations. Movie-makers, after receiving many complaints about past efforts, have benefited from such participation.

Running Moccasins
Objected to Study

Over Indian Bones

By James O'Shea
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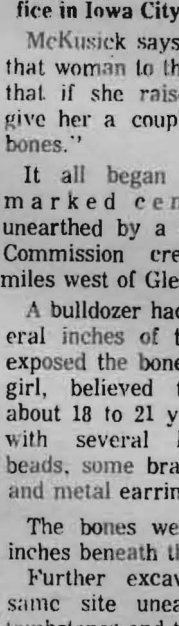
July 11, 1971

The bones of an Indian girl who was buried on the prairies of western Iowa at least 100 years ago have become the center of a dispute between a female Indian activist and state officials.

The Indian woman — a Yankton Sioux — is "Running Moccasins" or Mrs. Maria Thompson-Pearson (her married name) of Marne, who is in Des Moines undergoing tests at Iowa Lutheran Hospital.



MARSHALL McKUSICK

She wants state officials to surrender the bones of the girl — uncovered during highway construction — for a proper Indian burial.

State Archeologist Marshall McKusick says he must keep the remains under an Iowa law which entrusts him with articles of historical significance.

Says Running Moccasins:

"They (state archeology officials) say they want to learn more about the Indian. Well, there are plenty of live ones around they can come and talk to. They don't have to go poking their noses around in our graves. If I did that to a white man's grave, I'd be arrested."

Running Mocasins, 37, has promised a fight, even if it means massing Indians from nine surrounding states and marching on McKusick's office in Iowa City.

McKusick says "I don't want that woman to think in any way that if she raises a fuss, I'll give her a couple of boxes of bones."

It all began when an unmarked cemetery was unearthed by a State Highway Commission crew about 2½ miles west of Glenwood.

A bulldozer had removed several inches of topsoil when it exposed the bones of an Indian girl, believed to have been about 18 to 21 years old, along with several hundred glass beads, some brass finger rings and metal earrings.

The bones were about eight inches beneath the surface.

Further excavations at the same site unearthed bits of tombstones and the bodies of 26 whites in an old cemetery.

The remains of the whites subsequently were reburied in Glenwood Cemetery, but the Indian girl's remains were taken to Iowa City.

Outside of the few broken pieces of tombstone, the cemetery of the whites was unmarked and a thorough search of records at the Mills County Courthouse failed to produce any record of the deaths.

Although little is known about the cemetery, Ernest Barker of Pacific Junction said his grandmother and three of her children were buried there in 1867.

Barker, 77, said that he knew of no Indian camps in the area but that some Indian relics had been found about a mile north of the cemetery.

When Running Moccasins, whose husband is a district engineer for the Highway Commission, learned that officials planned to rebury the bodies in the Glenwood Cemetery, except for the Indian girl's remains, she began her fight.

Running Moccasins, chairman of the national Indian Woman's Action Council, was incensed when she found out the Indian girl's bones were taken to Iowa City.

"Why didn't they notify the Indians about this girl," Running Moccasins asked. "They rebury the white men in the cemetery, but they didn't even notify any of the Indians.

"Indians look at their dead quite differently than the white man," she continued. "Trinkets and beads take on quite a different meaning. An Indian, even if she is dead, has a right to remain an Indian. I want that girl's body returned to her tribe as quickly as her tribe is identified."

Running Moccasins said she called McKusick's office several times but could not reach him by phone.

She then took her fight directly to Gov. Robert Ray.

"She came in the office," one of Ray's aides recalled, "and said she wanted to see the governor. We asked her if one of the aides couldn't help and she said it was Indian custom to see the 'great white father.' So, we took her in to see the governor."

After being assured by Ray that he would look into the matter, Running Moccasins gave Ray an Indian Friendship ring, an aide said, and then returned home to Marne.

"Indians look at their dead differently than the white man," Running Moccasins has argued. "An Indian, even if she is dead, has a right to remain an Indian."

McKusick says he has to keep the bones under state law.

"I just can't go giving remains to private individuals," McKusick said. "It sounds nice to say just give (the bones) back to the Indians so the girl can be reburied, but I have to follow the Code of Iowa."

McKusick says that it would take a court order for him to release the remains to the tribe to which the girl belonged.

Running Moccasins has promised to continue her fight. "Like your John Paul Jones, I've just begun to fight," she said. "Wait until I get out of this hospital. I want that girl's remains back where they belong."

THE NEW REPUBLIC
JULY 3, 1971 JULY 17, 1971

Los Angeles vs. the Indians – I

Trinkets for the Navajos

Window Rock, Ariz.

There are more than 600,000 Indians in the United States, about half of whom, including 120,000 Navajos, live in the Southwest. The Navajos are probably better off than most tribes. They have the largest reservation outside of Alaska – 24,000 square miles, about the size of West Virginia. Oil, uranium and natural gas have been found on Navajo land, and are being extracted by major corporations which pay the tribe royalties. Revenues from these mineral leases have enabled the Navajos to establish a scholarship fund and maintain a large governmental bureaucracy. Nevertheless, most Navajos live at a subsistence level, tending their pathetically dry farms or herding sheep. Average family income is under $3000 a year; unemployment chronically exceeds 60 percent; malnutrition and alcoholism are rampant.

Indians, of course, are no longer the only inhabitants of the Southwest. They've been surrounded by *genus americanus* – a strange people who, though constituting only six percent of the world's population, manage to consume 60 percent of its resources, mainly by exploiting the underdeveloped nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa, but frequently by exploiting the Indians.

Until recently, the water and power needs of Los Angeles, San Diego, Las Vegas, Phoenix and other Southwest cities could be met without unduly encroaching upon the Indians. By the mid-sixties, however, air pollution in Los Angeles became so bad that construction of coal-burning power plants was banned. Phoenix and Tucson exhausted their local water supplies and demanded huge infusions from the Colorado river. Throughout the Southwest the desire for electricity – stimulated by power company advertising – continued to grow many times faster than the population. The solution to these multiple problems was to go after the Indians' resources – their coal, their water, and inescapably, their land and clean air.

Peabody Coal, America's largest strip-miner, was brought in to dig up Black Mesa, a massive highland in the heart of Navajo and Hopi country, while the power companies themselves began building generating plants. Thus far two are completed – the Mohave plant, operated by Southern California Edison, and the Four Corners plant, operated by Arizona Public Service. Four more are scheduled for completion by 1977, and when all six are fully operational they will emit more ash and dust than New York City.

What do the Indians get for their resources? Well, for 65,000 acres of land on Black Mesa, Peabody is paying the Navajos and Hopis $1 an acre per year. For the coal itself, from what will be the largest strip-mine in the world, Peabody is giving the Indians 25 cents a ton. (By contrast, Peabody chips in 40 cents a ton to the United Mine Workers health, welfare and pension fund.) In addition to coal, Peabody is extracting nearly a billion gallons a year of pure fossil water from thousands of feet below the surface of Black Mesa. Peabody mixes this water with pulverized coal to form slurry, which is then carried to the Mohave generating plant 275 miles away by means of a giant pipeline. For use of this valuable water Peabody pays the Navajos and Hopis about $20,000.

Most interesting of all is the highly complicated shuffle by which the Navajos were coaxed into surrendering their precious Colorado river water rights in exchange for the many "benefits" that strip-mining and power-generating will bring. Because it is the only steady source of water in a region that is essentially a desert, the Colorado is probably the most contested river in the world. Navajo rights to the Colorado date back to 1868, and thus have priority – or rather *had* priority – over most recent claims. Navajo rights were also potentially very large – equal, according to US Supreme Court rulings, to the amount of water necessary to irrigate all the practicably irrigable land on the reservation. Other claimants to the Colorado's waters – and there are more claims than there is water – were understandably fearful that someday the Navajos would exercise their rights. Arizona was particularly nervous, since its plan to pump billions of gallons of Colorado water to Phoenix and Tucson hinged upon nonuse by the Navajos of their entitlements. All fears were resolved in 1968 when the Navajos were persuaded to limit their claim to 50,000 acre-feet of upper basin water, and, what was more, to give two-thirds of that to the power companies – free of charge – for cooling one of their coal-burning plants. In return for this extraordinary concession the Navajos were given Peabody's meager payments, enumerated above, a grant of $125,000 for the Navajo Community College, plus a few hundred jobs in the mines and generating plants. It was like trading away Manhattan Island for $24 worth of trinkets.

Sadly, the Navajo leaders who agreed to the contracts felt they were acting in the best interests of the tribe. They were told by Peabody, by the power companies and by the Interior Department that nuclear energy was the coming thing, that if they ever wanted to sell their coal, they had better do so right away. They were advised to keep prices low in order to be "competitive," though it was not clear whom they were competing against, or why the real competition should not have been in bidding between Peabody and other coal companies. Above all they were desperate for jobs and revenue, and felt that any deal they could get was better than nothing. They had little knowledge of the adverse effects of strip-mining or air pollution, and the Interior Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is supposed to protect the Indians' interests, did nothing to enlighten them. In fact, the BIA actively encouraged Navajo leaders to accept the contracts without quibbling, perhaps because another arm of the Interior Department, the Bureau of Reclamation, would be a prime user of Black Mesa power.

There is also great concern about the Indians' water supply. Peabody firmly insists that its slurry wells are so deep they will have no effect upon subsurface water tables. But the US Geological Survey has stated that the water table north of the strip-mine may drop 100 feet over the life of Peabody's lease. And, say the Indians, the gouging of Black Mesa has already blocked off natural springs and washes, interrupting the surface flow of water to livestock and crops.

And after 35 years? The jobs then will be gone, leaving only empty hulks of generating plants and mountains of overturned earth as monuments to America's hunger for electricity. "We will be like the people of Appalachia," says Robert Salabye, a Navajo Vietnam veteran, "where coal mines have destroyed the health of the people who worked in them, left the land scarred and the people without hope."

So the Navajos are in a quandary. Many tribal council members, while admitting they entered into the contracts without full knowledge, are nevertheless reluctant to back out now; they fear the loss of tribal revenue and that other corporations will not build plants on the reservation if Peabody is kicked off. A lot of younger Navajos are not so cautious. They call for lawsuits, strict regulations and other pressures that would eventually force Peabody to stop mining. Some talk of sabotage.

"Why should Indians be forced to suffer the consequences of America's power madness?" asks Peterson Zah, a young Navajo legal aide. "If the cities must have power, let them put up with the filth that their power greed produces."

Los Angeles vs. the Indians—II

Bad Day at Black Mesa

Oraibi, Ariz.

Oraibi, the Hopis' spiritual capital, sits atop a 600-foot escarpment in the middle of the Arizona desert. A paved highway passes about a quarter of a mile away, and a dirt road leads to the village edge. There's nothing physically attractive about the place – many of the adobe buildings are in disrepair, rusting car hulks are strewn about, and color is notably absent – yet there is something here that immediately arouses a feeling of awe.

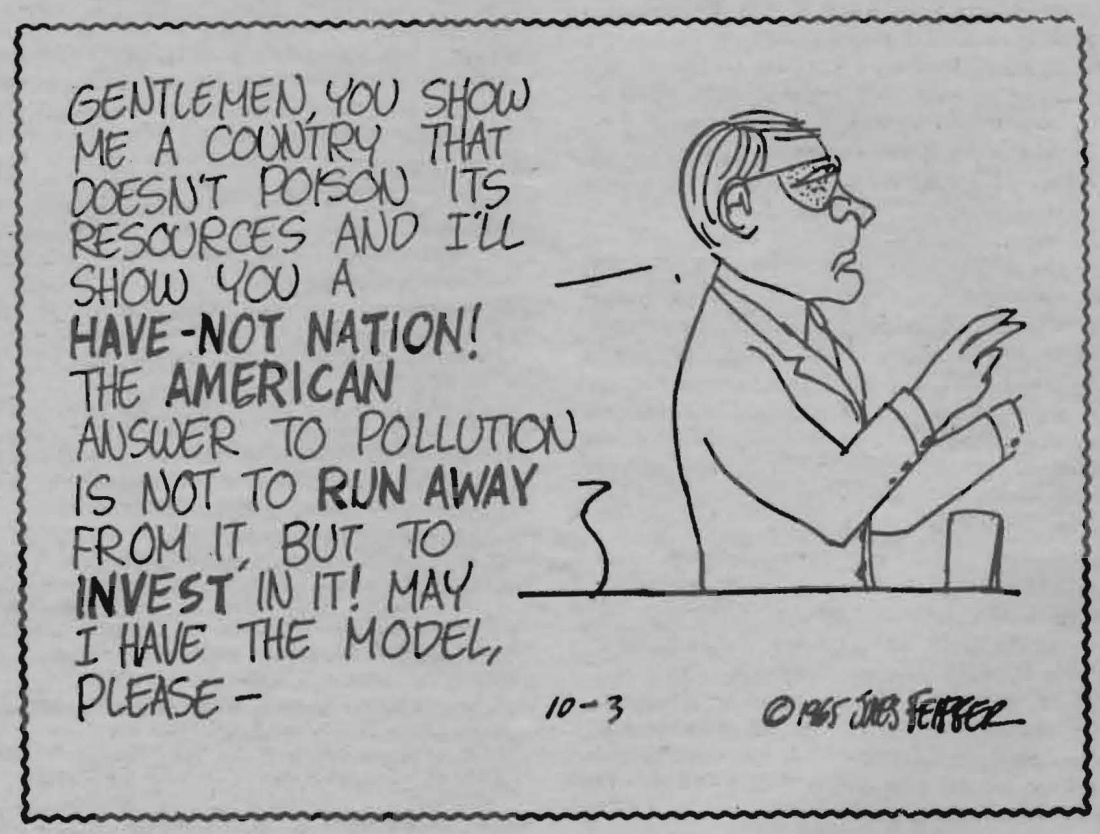
The first house as one enters Oraibi belongs to the *kikmongwi*, or spiritual leader of the village, Mina Lansa, and her husband John. Mina's father, who was a *kikmongwi* before her, once told her that Hopis have lived in Oraibi and on neighboring mesas for 3000 years. History books put the date of settlement at around 1100 A.D.

Every morning John Lansa walks from his village on the mesa to a farm in the desert below, a remarkable farm whose soil runs through one's fingers like sand, that uses no irrigation, no artificial fertilizers, tractors or pesticides. Here John grows corn, beans, watermelon, squash, grapes and peaches, carefully surrounding each seedling with rocks to provide protection from the wind. By planting just in the right places, and at just the right times, he takes advantage of every drop of water that collects beneath the surface. "If rain comes," he says softly, "the crops will be good. But there is so much trouble. . . ."

Hopis talk a lot about trouble these days. There's the severe drought that has stricken the Southwest, a consequence, Hopis say, of white man's disrespect to mother earth. There is dissension within the villages, and between the generations, that worries many Hopi elders. Most disturbing of all is what is happening on Black Mesa, just to the north of the Hopis' villages

Part of the Hopis' fear is that the strip-mining operation will upset the delicate water tables that have sustained their desert farms for nearly a millennium. Beyond this is a deeper concern that what is being done now to Black Mesa is merely the culmination of decades of white man's foolishness – for much too long, Hopis say, we have been cutting up the earth, destroying her innards, and grievously upsetting the harmony of living things. This process, they are afraid, will lead not only to the destruction of the Hopis' way of life, but to the death of us all.

Understanding the Hopis isn't easy. They use none of the scientific terms we are accustomed to, but speak almost mystically, with the wisdom of a people whose survival in a barren desert has quite literally depended upon harmony with the elements. In the Hopi religion, which is inseparable from their daily lives, all things – including the earth – are alive. Massau'u, the Great Spirit, gave to the Hopis the responsibility of protecting life, warning them that the task would not be easy. Dances and ceremonies would be necessary to keep living things in balance, to insure that rain would come forth and that crops would bloom. It would also be necessary to live humbly, taking from mother earth no more than was needed, and always giving to her as well as taking.


GENTLEMEN, YOU SHOW ME A COUNTRY THAT DOESN'T POISON ITS RESOURCES AND I'LL SHOW YOU A HAVE-NOT NATION! THE AMERICAN ANSWER TO POLLUTION IS NOT TO RUN AWAY FROM IT, BUT TO INVEST IN IT! MAY I HAVE THE MODEL, PLEASE –
10-3
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In accordance with their religion the Hopis have for centuries been "decidedly pacific in character, opposed to all wars, quite honest and very industrious," as the first US Indian agent in the Southwest reported in 1849. (The Selective Service System ruled several years ago that any Hopi who so desires may automatically be classified as a conscientious objector.) They have shunned competitiveness and the urge for power and wealth. Village leaders have labored in the fields and shared the same living standards as all other Hopis.

Still, many Hopis believe they have failed in their historic task, for they have not protected the earth from the ravages of others. Three times before, according to Hopi myth, the world has been destroyed because greed and war got out of hand. Each time Massau'u gave man another chance, and each time man again went astray. Now we are living in the fourth world, and it may well be the last. "The prophecy says that there will come a time of much destruction," says John Lansa.

Not all of the 6000 Hopis agree with John Lansa. For the better part of a century the tribe has been split into feuding factions – the so-called Progressives favoring adoption of many white man's ways, the Traditionals holding firmly to the ancient path. In 1906 Traditionals and Progressives in Oraibi fell into a dispute over whether Hopi children should be allowed to attend US government schools. A pushing match was arranged to resolve the quarrel, with villagers of each persuasion deployed on opposite sides of a line. After several hours the Progressives proved to be the stronger pushers, so the Traditionals packed up and founded a new village, Hotevilla, a few miles to the north. Shortly thereafter US Army troops arrived in Hotevilla, snatched away Hopi children to government boarding schools and imprisoned village leaders who resisted.

Three years ago Hotevilla itself divided over the issue of electricity. Progressives, backed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, called in the Arizona Public Service Company; Traditionals threw themselves in front of the company's trucks. In the end the Traditionals prevailed, and Hotevilla remains one of three Hopi villages without electric power.

Equally divisive was the issue of political organization. Hopi villages had for centuries been self-governing city-states, with no central authority over the tribe. This was unsatisfactory to the federal government, which found it difficult to deal with such a diffused power structure. A Hopi constitution was drawn up by the BIA in 1935, under which each village would send representatives to a Tribal Council. Progressives welcomed the constitution and have dominated the Tribal Council ever since. Traditionals simply ignored it, claiming that the Hopis had never been defeated by the Americans, had never signed a treaty, and should not recognize the US government. Several Hopi villages still refuse to send delegates to the Tribal Council, and most *kikmongwis* refuse to certify Council delegates, as the constitution requires.

The forces working against the Traditionals today are stronger than ever. There are, of course, the old menaces – BIA schools, Christian missionaries, and electricity (which brings in TV and "ties you into the white man's system"). Now comes the strip-mining of Black Mesa, which not only threatens the Hopis' farms and livestock, and thus their economic independence from the white man, but also makes a mockery of their sacred responsibility to protect the earth. In addition, Peabody's contract for Hopi land, coal and water brings to the Tribal Council about $1 million a year – an insignificant amount from Peabody's standpoint, but more than enough to tip the Hopi balance of power irretrievably in favor of the Progressives.

So, in desperation, the traditional Hopis have appealed to the white man's government, a government they do not trust. Last month 62 spiritual leaders and *kikmongwis*, including Mina and John Lansa, filed suit in federal court, alleging that the contract between Peabody Coal and the Tribal Council was unlawfully approved by the Secretary of the Interior. (Among other things, the suit contends that the Tribal Council which signed the lease was illegally constituted, since it lacked a majority of members certified by the village *kikmongwis*.)

The kind of progress Hopis cannot absorb is that which makes them dependent upon white man's jobs or welfare, destroys their attachment to the earth and profanes their religion – precisely the kind of progress America now seems determined to force upon them. The tragedy lies not only in our readiness to commit cultural genocide, but in our deafness – our inability to listen to a people who have been around a lot longer than we have, and who may know something we don't know.

Peter Barnes

photo/harvey mudd

The gloomiest prophecies of Hopi traditionalists have now come to pass

By Asa Bazhonoodah
Liberation News Service

In English, they call me "Kee Shelton's Mother." In Navajo, my name is Asa Bazhonoodah. I am 83 years old. I am originally from Black Mesa. I was born and raised there. My parents and grandparents were all from that same area.

At present, I live east and not far from the mining site. I was born in a hogan which was still standing the last time I saw it. But now I don't know, maybe they have torn it down. They tell me my parents used to live right down at the mining site at the time my mother was pregnant with me. Then, when she was going to give birth to me, they moved eastward to the place where I was born. This is not too far from the place they grind the coal.

That is where I was raised and after I got married, my husband and I lived at the same place. During that time, my husband cleared the land and built a fence for a cornfield near where we lived. We used to move to the cornfield to plant and harvest the corn.

My mother died and was buried right there at our permanent home. Following that my husband died during the time that people were killed by some kind of disease and he also is buried there. After this happened I moved to the corn field which my husband had established. The cornfield is still there and I plant a little bit of corn every spring.

I strongly object to the strip mining for many reasons. The mine workers do a lot of drinking and they take youngsters from here and give them liquor and wine. These are the children of my husband's grandchildren with whom we used to live.

The particles of coal dust that contaminate the water kill our animals. I know this for a fact because many of the sheep belonging to my children were killed. I have some cows and they started dying off. And now it has become too frequent, almost every day. We were asked to report every dead sheep or animal, but it is almost impossible to do that because of the lack of communication.

We do not like the explosions at the mine because it scares our horses. Many of us herd sheep on horseback and every time an explosion goes off it scares the animals and they are afraid and try to run away.

The coal mine is destroying our grazing lands because the grass is being put under the earth, and our sheep are getting thin and are not having many lambs. The mine also destroys our springs and water holes, so we have great trouble trying to water our livestock.

A long time ago, the earth was placed here for us, the people, the Navajo. It gives us corn and we consider her our mother. Air is one of the Holy Elements; it is important in prayer. Wooded areas are being cut down. Now the air is bad, not working. The herbs that are taken from Mother Earth and given to a woman during childbirth no longer grow in the cut area. The land looks burned.

When we were first put on earth, the herbs and medicines were also put here for us to use. These have become part of our prayers to Mother Earth. We should realize it for if we forget those things we will vanish as the people.

This pollution is what I'm especially against. When I first realized I had eyes. I saw that it was clear. Now it is getting hazy and gray outside. The coal mine is causing it. Because of the bad air, animals are not well. They don't feel well. They know what is happening and are dying. The Peabody Coal Company is tampering with the Holy Elements and this must be stopped.

Our prayers and healing have been tampered with and they don't work as well anymore. How can we give something of value to Mother Earth to repay the damages which the mining has done to her. We still ask for her blessings and healing even when she is hurt.

They are taking water and other Holy Elements from her veins.

How much would you ask for if your Mother had been harmed? There is no way that we can be repaid for the damages to our Mother. No amount of money can repay, because money cannot give birth to anything.

I want to see the mining stopped.

The News from Black Mesa

For information: write
Black Mesa Defense
107 Cienega Ave.
Santa Fe, New Mexico

To protest: write or wire
Senator Clinton Anderson
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

To help: send funds to
Hopi Mongwituh (religious leaders)
POBox 156 Hopi Nation
via Oraibi, Arizona 86039

LITTLE KNOWN FACTS

The Mayan Indians of Mexico developed the most perfect calendar of any people to date.

The Mayan Indians developed the system of binomial mathematics that is used today in modern computers.

At the time of the arrival of Cortes in 1519, at the shores of the Aztec empire in Mexico, the Aztec's capital city, Tenochtitlan, was larger than any city in Europe, with nearly 100,000 people shopping in its market place every day. Tenochtitlan had over 2,000 places of worship, and was built in a lake with canals like Venice.

Over one million Indians in Mexico today speak the Aztec language, or nahuatl.

Many historians believe that the Aztecs originally came from New Mexico and surrounding areas.

Until the latter part of the 19th century, the Indian-built Pueblo Bonito in New Mexico was the largest apartment dwelling known to have existed in the world.

The Mayas of Mexico had one, if not the most, complex and highly developed languages the world has ever had. Over the centuries its millions of people lived in the greatest peace-loving society the world has known.

Benito Juarez, a Zapotec Indian, is one of Mexico's greatest presidents.

The largest pyramid in the world is not in Egypt, but is an Aztec pyramid in Mexico.

While only about one million Indians are alive today in Anglo-America from the Rio Grande north, over 50 million Indians are alive in Spanish America.

According to most ethnologists, Indo-Hispanos (Mexican Americans, Chicanos) are in major part Indian and in minor part of Spanish extraction.

(– with thanks to our brothers of Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres)

INDIAN COALITION

Brothers and Sisters:

My name is Eddie Benton. I am a Chippewa, and I am executive director of the American Indian Movement in St. Paul, Minnesota; I come before you today with an old story and with a new plea. The story that each of you have heard many times, that each of you has lived. It is the story of the white man coming upon Indian lands, throwing us off those lands, and using the land and its riches which are sacred to our people for the making of profits for the white man's company, for the making of electricity for the white man's home. And this is done so that he can live in air conditioned comfort, and his children can watch color television, and his wife can use her electric dishwasher while our people continue to live in squalor and poverty and by the sweat and toil of our physical labor.

In the case of the Lac Court Oreilles band of Chippewas, the story I have to tell began more than 50 years ago when the white man's company came on to our tribal lands and for the price of Model T Fords and stole more than 6,000 acres of allotted lands, and for pennies forced us to turn over valuable tribal lands against the will of the tribe and its leaders.

A conspiracy took place in which three agencies took part: 1) Minnesota-Wisconsin Power and Light Company (now Northern States Power) 2) the Federal Power Commission, and 3) the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

My people voted on the matter of flooding to create the Chippewa Flowage three times. Each time the matter was voted down. My people did not want to lose any more land. My people did not want our lands under water. In a gesture of protectivity, the BIA signed for the Lac Court Oreilles people the right to flood lands, to destroy three wild rice beds, to destroy timber and buildings and flood over the graves of our chiefs. All of these things were part of the original agreement. Sometime later, amendments were made that absolved the Power Company of responsibility to live up to the agreements. "And because of the nature of the amendments, no notice need be given to the Indians involved."

We had our villages on that land. We had our cranberry bogs and rice fields on that land. We had buried our dead, our tribal chiefs on that land. The white man didn't care. To him , the land did not represent respect for a way of life, for a people's culture, for their religion, for their ancestral dead. To the white man the land did not represent anything but profits, and he made these profits by flooding our land, our village and rice fields, and covering the graves of our dead with 20 feet of water.

But that is an old story, you have heard it, you have seen it, you have lived it. The new story is what we can do about it now. For years, for decades, we have been telling the white man that the land is sacred, that clean air is sacred, that pure water is sacred. But because he now feels threatened, because even he is his white community is now beginning to feel the effects of the wanton destruction that he has been causing for decades and decades, he finally feels concern.

The plea, my brothers and sisters, is that we recognize this new white man's religion for what it is and that we use it for what we can get out of it. We know that it is our people that really suffer from the tragedy of pollution, it is the blacks in the urban ghetto and the Chicano in the rural ghetto as he struggles to earn a meager existence working on the white man's plantation.

The white man is concerned about saving his vactionland? we are concerned about saving our homeland. The white man is concerned about saving our rivers so that he can bathe in them and spend his leisure time on them; we are concerned about saving our rivers because they are a source of life to our people.

The important point is that the white man has muscle in this country. He has that muscle to force the Congress of the United States to pass laws to protect the environment. We are going to be learning about those laws and we should heed the lesson well for I am convinced that united in Indian brotherhood we can use those laws to return to our people a peaceful and wholesome way of life.

We have asked for the introduction of legislation partially to right the wrong that has been perpetrated on the Chippewa people for the last 50 years. What we seek to do is not new. Many tribes have tried similar things in the past. But their efforts have met with failure, because, my brothers and sisters, we have failed to act as brothers and sisters. We have failed to unite. We have failed to recognize that every time one tribe or band is able to right a wrong it makes it more possible that each of the tribes will be able to succeed in their own battles.

So I come before you with my plea. My plea is that we learn the white man's laws and learn to use his concerns. But above all it is that we do not turn away from each others. That we consider the problem facing one tribe as a problem facing all of our tribes. That you do not turn away from your Chippewa brothers as they begin to fight their battle, or from the Apaches, the Chemehuevis, the Hopis, or the Navajos as they fight their battles. Alone we will lose? united we can and will win. I ask you to join hands with the Chippewas.

Save the Chippewa Flowage Alliance, Box 31
Hayward, Wisconsin
(715)634-2601

American Indian Movement
261 East 8th St.
St. Paul, Minnesota
(612) 224-4395

—By a Sentinel Artist

Seated before a campfire, Indian spokesman Ed Benton (center) held a powwow with members of the Chippewa nation and talked to newsmen and Wisconsin state officials listing Indian demands. —Sentinel Photo by Ned Vespa

Indians end dam occupation after favorable response from governor

Chippewas of Lac Court Oreilles band are waiting to see if the honor of the State of Wisconsin, as pledged by its governor, is valid. After seizing a dam to regain control of land which they lost 50 years ago, they left in order to give the State time to act on their behalf.

The story of how the land was taken from the Indians is given by Chippewa AIM leader, Eddie Benton in a statment on this page. On August 1st, the move to reclaim the dam began when AIM (American Indian Movement) leaders called for a Protest Powwow and were joined by Indians from all over the country.

Fifty years ago the site was leased with the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The lease is up. The dam is a holding dam for another one downstream which generates electricity.

Rick Baker, tribal chairman of the Lac Court Oreilles Chippewas told the occupiers he pledged his support. It was hoped that the lease would be allowed to expire, the Federal Government would take over, the Power Company would be reimbursed, and Indian lands would be returned. Any lands involved that did not belong to the Indians would be earmarked for public recreation.

Reporters who called the Sheriff's Office were met with a curt "no comment" from Sheriff Donald Primley. Peeved, he said, "All these people want is publicity and we're not going to give them any." And in a burst of honesty, added, "Besides, we don't know which direction we're going to move." With 200 Indians camping at the site, he could not be blamed for being indecisive.

One of the directions Primley thought of was the National Guard. He phoned the governor to call up the guard in case it was needed to "Evacuate the residents below the dam." The Indians assured the sheriff they had no intentions of opening the dam. They were allowing power company employees in to service the equipment.

A state patrol plane made an observation flight over the area to determine how many dwellings would have to be evacuated if the gates of the dam were opened. 50 to 85 was the count.

Three Pinkerton guards were on duty on the 1,265 foot earthen dam when the first knot of occupiers arrived. They left quietly. Ken Lawton, Pinkerton supervisor, said his force had been beefed up for several days in an attempt to prevent the dam from being destroyed.

The following day, Joseph Preloznik, director of Wisconsin Judicare and Rbert Dunn of the governor's staff, came in their suits and ties to sit around a campfire to discuss the situation. The demands were simple. The governor was asked to endorse the Indian's fight, and to create a Wisconsin Indian Affairs Commission headed by a commissioner elected by Wisconsin 's Indians.

Enter the Governor, Patrick Lucey. In a statement issued from Madison, he requested that the Indians leave the area. "The state will offer all appropriate assistance in their efforts to litigate their long-held grievances," he promised.

Baker was hopeful. "I think the governor stuck his neck out for us. The Chippewa Nation is very pleased that the governor has given us his support."

Clyde Bellecourt, AIM leader from Minneapolis who has had his share of demonstrations elsewhere, thought differently. "I'm pessimistic. But I hope I'm wrong. I hope Lucey will live up to his word and that we will be given what we've been told we will get. But too often — no, always — it happens that we meet the white man's terms and then the white man turns his back on us."

To match the Pinkerton men, the Indians put up their own security force of 18 persons to work shifts. They did not want damage to defeat the Indian purpose — and there had been some shooting and threats from either drunk or vigilante-type whites. They seemed to make the nearby Wannican Tavern their headquarters, and the sheriff saw fit to station squad cars there now and again.

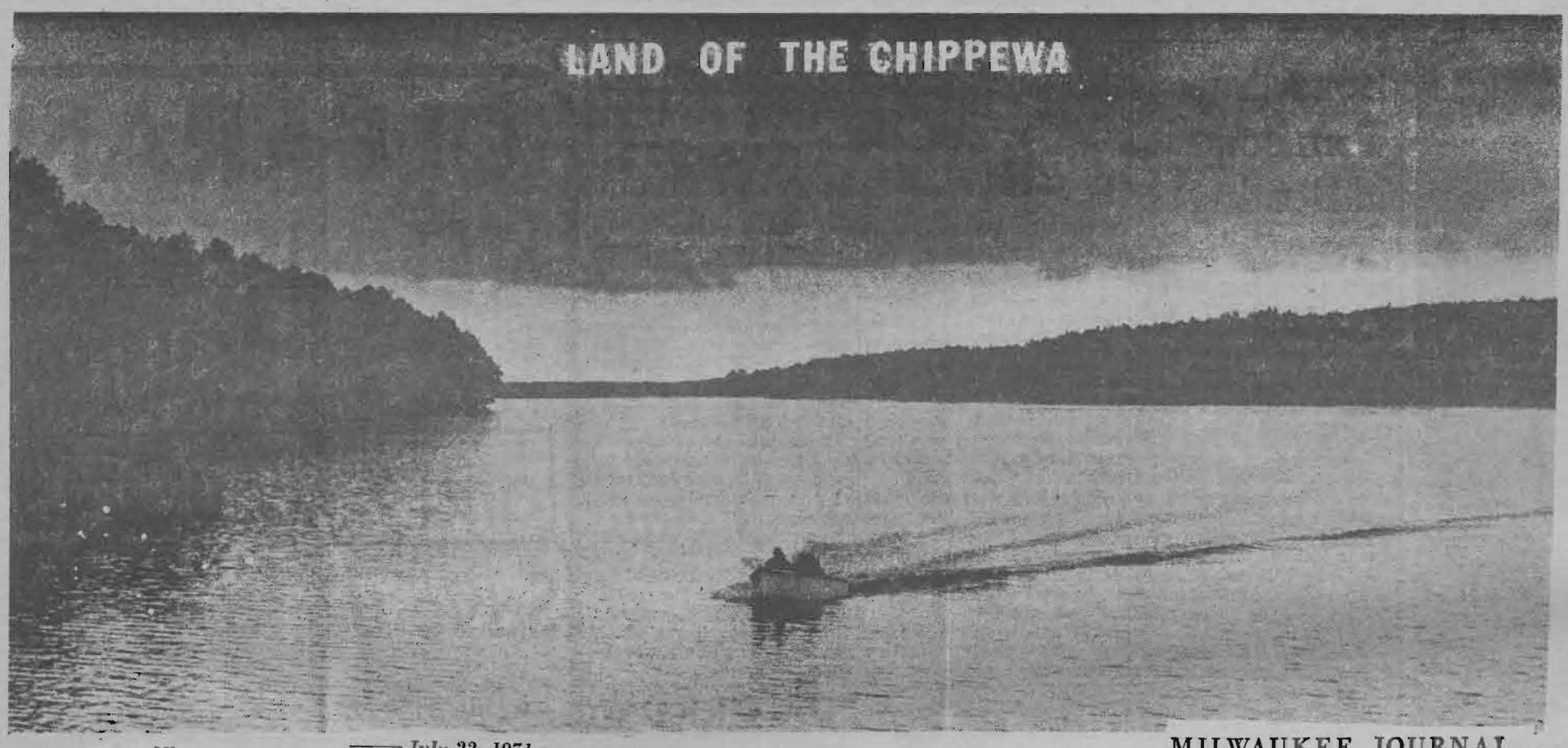
When the Indians left the dam, Baker asked that the power company double its normal security guard force to insure against any damage being wrongly blamed on the Indians.

But with the Indians gone, back at home and jobs, with the reporters and TV cameras gone to other spots, on August 10th the Federal Power Commission granted the NSP a one-year extension of its license to operate. No date was set for further hearings. The extension runs through August 8, 1972.

Mike Tribble, local AIM leader, knew where some power was. "It's not over just because we're leaving," he said. The dam can be re-occupied anytime, he reminded the force of Indians.

Write your senators and congressmen supporting the Chippewa's plan for the flowage

Contributions can be sent to the Tribal Council, Route 1 Stone Lake, Wisconsin



Minneapolis Tribune

Aug. 19, 1971

Give land back to the Indians

The Chippewa Flowage in northwestern Wisconsin should be returned to the Indians. The legal case for such action is compelling. The moral case is overwhelming.

The Federal Power Commission under a 1920 law gave Wisconsin-Minnesota Light & Power Co. a license to build a dam and flood Indian lands despite opposition by the Indian band. Attorneys for the Indians say that the power company, which later became part of Northern States Power Co., paid generally from $1 to $3 an acre for individually-owned Indian land acquired through purchase and condemnation. Some land allegedly went for pennies, and some owners allegedly never received promised payments. The power company also leased 525 acres of tribally-owned land from the Indian band. NSP is paying $2.64 an acre annually for the land under lease.

Attorneys for the Indians also contend that NSP and the predecessor power company failed to meet all of the terms of an original agreement to replace a flooded Indian village, remove and transplant flooded Indian graves, seed annually for wild rice and stock the lake with muskies each year. Therefore, as a result of the power project, the Lac Court Oreilles lost timber resources, their wild-rice production, hunting grounds, much of their settlement and a good part of their land base. In return they received a pittance. And as part of it all, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, supposedly the guardian of Indian rights, aided in the takeover.

Under the Indian proposal, the entire project area would be placed under a single management administered cooperatively by the Indians and the federal government. The area would be maintained as a wilderness, much like the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in northern Minnesota.

Environmentalists and Chippewa Flowage resort owners have joined the Lac Court Oreilles in their effort to stop the NSP license renewal and to assure management of the area primarily as a wilderness. That effort deserves to prevail.

Menominees Attack Federal Termination Policy

Journal Washington Bureau

Washington, D. C. – Leaders of Wisconsin's Menominee Indians ripped into the national policy of terminating federal support of Indians Wednesday, arguing that it had left them deep in poverty and in danger of losing their identity.

They appeared at a sometimes stormy hearing before the Senate Interior Committee, which is considering a resolution to abandon the termination policy enacted by Congress almost 20 years ago. Federal Indian Bureau supervision ended for the Menominees on May 1, 1961.

Termination is the federal policy of ending responsibility by the Bureau of Indian affairs for the Indian people.

In the view of Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), Interior Committee chairman, and others, the termination policy has turned out to be another "monument of failure" in the history of the federal government's Indian policies.

Menominee leaders told the senators that the termination policy was forced on the Indians by Congress, but Sen. Quentin Burdick (D-N. D.), acting as chairman in Jackson's absence, said that the congressional hearing record showed widespread support.

Miss Ada Deer, leading a delegation of members of Determination of Rights and Unity of Menomonee Stockholders (DRUMS) declared: "The results have been tragic. Our position today is worse than before termination and our very identity is seriously threatened."

She said termination policies had turned the former reservation into a pocket of poverty, forced the Indians to sell their assets and denied them self-determination.

MENOMINEES WILL FIGHT FOR RIGHTS & JUSTICE
OUR LEADERS ARE JAILED, BUT WE STILL PREVAIL. WE'LL BE HEARD
OUR HOPES AND GOALS REMAIN HIGH IN OUR SEARCH FOR JUSTICE

June 26, 1971 Green Bay Press-Gazette

Protest Jailing of DRUMS Leaders
A group of Menominee Indians began a protest Friday after two DRUMS leaders were jailed at Shawano for contempt of court

Menominees Protest Jailing of 2

SHAWANO (PG) — A group of Menominee Indians began a 12-day protest vigil outside the Shawano County Jail here Friday, where two leaders of the DRUMS organization have been sentenced for contempt of court.

Glenn Miller, Keshena, who acted as spokesman for the five who demonstrated Friday afternoon, said the protest will be conducted 24 hours a day for the first three days and then during the daylight hours for the remaining days.

Actually the demonstration may last only until next Saturday, since the two DRUMS leaders will probably be released then, with time off for good behavior.

The two jailed men are Laurel Otradovec of Appleton and Lloyd Powless, Milwaukee. Otradovec is president of the Menominee County chapter of DRUMS (Determination of Rights and Unity of Menominee Shareholders) and Powless heads the Milwaukee chapter.

Circuit Judge James Martineau sentenced them to 12 days in jail after finding them guilty of violating his injunction against demonstrations at the Legend Lake property office in Keshena. Otradovec and Powless, according to testimony given at a hearing before Martineau Thursday, led a demonstration May 30 in defiance of the restraining order.

Signs carried by those at the protest vigil Friday read:

"Menominees Will Fight for Rights and Justice."

"Our leaders are jailed, but we still prevail. We'll be heard."

"Our hopes and goals remain high in our search for justice."

"The judges of Menominee county put Laurel and Lloyd in jail because they want to stop land and lake sales."

Miller said the protesters are demonstrating as Menominee Indians not as members of the DRUMS Organization.

—UPI Telephoto

HUNTING PARTY — Chippewa Indians along White Fish Bay are using hunting parties again. They are protecting their fishing nets which the Indians say, have been slashed by sportsmen angered by a Michigan Supreme Court ruling earlier this year giving them unrestricted fishing and hunting rights. The court based its decision on an 1854 treaty.

From Dispossession to Fighting for Fish

SPORTSMEN HARASS INDIANS FISHING IN MICHIGAN

A carbon copy of the fishing difficulties of Washington State Indians seems to be in the making in Michigan. It involves the same elements: vigilantes, treaty rights, a concerned governor, angry sportsmen, and Indians determined to protect their rights.

For centuries, Chippewas along the south shore of Lake Superior in what is now Upper Michigan depended on the fish life for food. When they ceded vast tracts of land — most of the state — they reserved for themselves the right to hunt and fish. "And such of them as reside in the territory hereby ceded shall have the right to hunt and fish therein until otherwise ordered by the president," said the treaty.

But six years ago, when William Jondreau of the L'Anse reservation on Keweenaw Bay came ashore with four lake trout he was arrested. He was fishing during the time white fishermen are prohibited.

He was convicted, and the Baraga County Circuit Court and the State Court of Appeals upheld his conviction. But last April, the Michigan Supreme Court reversed the State. Justice John B. Swainson, a former governor, wrote the opinion which said Jondreau had every right to fish at any time of the year under the 1854 treaty.

Sporting groups howled. And then they howled with glee when they found what they thought was an executive order nullifying the clause of the treaty. The Detroit News Outdoor Editor James O. Crowe wrote that the State Supreme Court appeared to have made a "monumental goof," and the Indian fishermen would soon "have to observe Michigan conservation laws like everyone else."

Their joy was shortlived, however, when it was found that the executive order had been issued before the treaty had even been signed, and therefore the treaty clause held.

And so the Chippewas started to fish openly, and felt free to sell their catch. They set out in a dozen or so small boats. At Bay Mills, another reservation 300 miles east, the beach is too shallow in Whitefish Bay, and large boats have difficulty landing. A state investigating team reporting to the governor said that although the Indians have been working waters reserved for sportsmen where the fishing is best, their take so far is small compared with what sportsmen catch under the conservation laws.

But the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) Panicked. Director Ralph MacMullen sees sport fishing with hook and line bringing a lot of tourist dollars as the most sensible economic and conservative course forthe state to follow. The Indians will upset our management plans, he said.

Since some of the fishing license fees paid by sportsmen goes to the DNR, MacMullan made a threat. "Certainly it's ridiculous for sportsmen to pay for lake trout being taken out exclusively by Indians. If we can't gain some kind of control over the fishery, we will seriously consider stopping all stocking program for lake trout."

Only a decade ago, the building of power projects, dams, and pollution had caused an influx of lamprey eels which almost completely wiped out the lake trout. The DNR had built weirs at feeder streams and restricted fishing drastically to buildthe trout population back to some strength.

DNR lawyers started to work, but could find no legal handles to tie on. Sportsmen in the area took matters into their own hands occasionally. Don Parrish said his brother had 26 nets, and 17 of them had been cut. "We've asked the DNR for help, and the DNR don't do nothing. So, OK. If we have to, we'll go back to the club and the gun."

To claims that Indians would ruin the fishing, Parish indicates the size of the lake. "Lake Superior is 120 miles wide and 350 miles long. Now we fish a total of about five miles, right here in Whitefish Bay. And there's only 13 fishermen on the reservation."

Fearing violence, GovernorMilliken appointed a three man task force to draw up guidelines that both Indian and sportsmen might accept. Richard Helmbrecht from the governor's office was named chairman, and the other members are Ralph MacMullan, DNR Director, and Sam Mackety, executive secretary of the Indian Affairs Commission, a state agency.

Milliken also called on the Civil Service Commission to help the DNR to hire Indian officials. Many Indians felt this would only serve to buy off the Indians, who would then become employees of the agency which would regulate them. Up until that time, the DNR had no Indian staff members, and there were no Indian fish and game officers

Conservation officers were caught in the middle. Officer Bruce Andrews said, "The sports fishermen are screaming at us because they say the Indians are netting too many fish. The Indians are asking why we don't protect their nets." He confirmed that the Indians were arming themselves with rifles.

The Traverse City *Record—Eagle* gave a full front-page headline June 25th to this news: G.T. BAY YIELDS 1½ TONS OF FISH TO INDIANS. What it did not say is that 200 commercial fishing licensees took 13 million pounds of fish from Lake Michigan alone last year.

Dr. John Spencer, a Traverse City physician, urged fast action. "Are you going to wait until the Indians set up machine guns on snow mobiles and go deer and elk hunting with them?" he asked.

A White former charter-boat captain, Bob Ryan, stormed, "They've got a license to rape the lake. Who the hell won that war anyway?"

A spokesman for the Michigan Fish Advisory Board (who refused to be identified) told Detroit Free Press reporter Tom Nugent, "Every trout the Indian catch is government trout. Fellow told me the other day, 'Let's go out and cut some nets,' he said. I told him he couldn't take the law into our own hands. But they're getting impatient, I tell you."

Commercial fisherman Charlie Martin, though, told Nugent a different story. "These sports fishermen they just need an excuse to give their customers when they don't catch anything. These Indians ain't going to hurt the fishing, because an Indian don't work for tomorrow. Hell, my old man'd catch more trout in a day than the Indians'll get in a year."

There are 130,000 sportsmen represented by the Michigan United Conservation Clubs. There are approximately 16,000 Indians left in the state of Michigan according to the 1970 census. Every Christmas, they have collected toys and used clothing for distribution to needy Indians. But maybe this year it will be different. They have filed suit in a Michigan circuit court under the 1970 Environmental Act. They also are asking for a temporary injunction forbidding Indians the right to fish until the suit is decided.

Named as defendants are Donald and Jacob Anthony, and the Bay Mills Indian Community which issued the identification cards held by the Anthonys, and "all other persons who claim by virtue of Indian treaty rights to fish in the waters of the State of Michigan without compliance with the fish and game laws."

MUCC President Louis B. Michalski of Detroit said, "We cannot stand by and allow any group to spoil or exploit the natural resources to the detriment of the public trust in that resource."

Said Parish, "The Indians are just a poor bunch of people who don't have the money to put in to this fight that the white sportsmen have. But we do have the right to fish and the right to hunt and the right to carry a gun. We will make up our own peace force and do what we have to to protect ourselves and our equipment."

Mark Perrault, a Chippewa from L'Anse and a member of the Michigan Indian Affairs Commission says that a few dead fish and a few dead deer "aren't the issue."

"The DNR and the attorney general's office refuse to concede that the Indian has won the right to hunt and fish. They're ashamed to admit that a man with a sixth-grade education can read a treaty," Perrault added.

An angry Traverse City charter boat owner complained, "I'm being treated like a second class citizen because Indians can fish whenever they want and I can't."

The issue is a hot one in Michigan, and many newspapers have rendered editorial opinions. The Ann Arbor *News* said it was fine and about time that the state was becoming more sensitive to the needs of Indians, but the Indians "may find that although their treaty protects them it does not rule out sharing the waters with white sportsmen and commercial fishermen."

In an amazing statement of double-standard, the Detroit *Free Press* wondered if "The Indians may have learned enough of the white man's ruthlessness with natural resources to be able to have a major impact (on fish depletion.)"

It hoped that "maybe they have a more highly developed sense of longterm self-interest than their white brothers have had. The best the state can do is hope so, and try to arouse it." The editorial was headed, "Avoiding the Warpath."

The Marquette *Mining Journal* suggested that the Federal Government should work out a new treaty with the Indians. It noted too that if fishing reality is a threat, the President can take appropriate action.

State Senator Stanley Novak did appeal to the president. Careful to stress that he is aware of the contributions which the Chippewas have made to the state, he alleged that "Indians have placed gill nets in these waters so it was almost impossible to get a boat through the water without fouling a net." "Fishing in Michigan's Great Lakes will be a thing of the past," he worried.

Bravely, only the Bay City *Times* came out for the Indians:

"For white society and government, the dilemmas have a clear imperative. It is we and not the Indians who are alien here, and although not all that we received from them by treaty and agreement was wrongfully, cleverly, lyingly received, history's clock cannot be turned back to cancel the deceit and the oppression.

"We who make so much of national honor must begin honoring our own treaties, righting our own ancient wrongs, and living with whatever inconvenience, and, to us, inequality, may be entailed, hoping that the Indian will be wiser in his use of the land and its resources and its people than whites have been."

Finally, the Attorney General, Frank J. Kelley, decided to ask the Michigan Supreme Court to say whether its recent opinion that the Indians have unlimited fishing rights applies to "commercial fishing as well as sports fishing." The special task force came in with its report, urging that "voluntary guidelines be established by the Indians for commercial fishing as soon as possible."

The task force also found that it had found a "number of exaggerated allegations concerning commercial fishing."

One testimony came from Elliott Pamp, 70-year old Potawatomi from Battle Creek. He told of his response to a white man who once told him to beware of blacks in Alabama, because "if you give 'em an inch, they'll take a mile."

"I told him," Pamp said, "I'll tell you one better than that. Some Indians let some white people sleep overnight on the eastern shore of the United States once, and the whites took the whole damn country."

LETTERS TO THE DETROIT FREE PRESS

Happy for the Indians

PARDON ME if I do not show sympathy for Michigan's "Great White Hunters," but I am glad that some Indians have found a loophole in their favor. I refer to the recent Supreme Court decision in their favor.

The "sportsman" has no real complaint. He has destroyed the great herds of deer, has decimated mighty flocks and he has annihilated swarming schools, all in the name of "sportsmanship."

I am glad that, for once, the American Indian is getting the upper hand out of a treaty.

R. O. LINVILLE

A Fishy Complaint

THE COMPLAINT of the so-called sportsmen about the Indian fishing rights in Michigan appears to be a case of a group of people who have almost everything not being satisfied until they have grabbed it all.

The real danger of the depletion of fish in the Great Lakes is not the few tons that the Indian might get, but the filth that is dumped into these waters by these same greedy people who would rather see the red man's tongue hang out for a bottle of beer or see his women and children starve than to allow him a chance to make a living.

The American Indian fished these waters and hunted the buffalo for thousands of years without seriously threatening the game population. Then along came a people who love to kill for sport.

ROBERT B. GIBBS

Orleans

Indians Badly Treated

IN THE squabble over who fishes where and how around Beaver Island, the "sport" fishermen say Indians will spoil fishing if they fish commercially.

If I were an Indian that would be the final blow. I can't believe that anyone with any conscience can even look an Indian straight in the eye, let alone say they are spoiling anything.

The "sports" should have to ask permission before they fish at all. And I mean from the Indians. It's the least we can do.

MRS. CAROLE SHREWSBURY

Ann Arbor

Senate probe of Indian affairs expected soon

Minneapolis Tribune
Aug. 7, 1971

By Frank Wright
Staff Correspondent

Washington, D.C.
A Senate investigation was brewing Friday into the Nixon administration's recent conduct of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

Tribal groups in the Southwestern United States late in June requested a congressional probe of their allegations — backed by a reform-minded element at the BIA — that the administration was not protecting their water from encroachment by states, cities and private corporations.

Tribal leaders —accompanied by Leon Cook, a Minnesota Chippewa who then was acting director of economic development at the BIA and who is an outspoken defender of Indian water rights — met with Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., to ask for hearings by the Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Practices and Procedures.

Kennedy, who is subcommittee chairman, expressed interest in the issue at that time and, according to a variety of informants, has become increasingly interested in the last two weeks since the administration began to crack down on Cook and other reformers at the bureau.

Ten days ago Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton started the controversy by announcing the creation of the post of deputy commissioner at the BIA; installing in it a veteran of previous BIA regimes, John Crow; and telling him to take over internal operations with a grant of power equal to that of the commissioner, Louis Bruce.

In his first week on the job last week, Crow:

■ Effectively downgraded two of the most outspoken reformers, both of them Indians from the Upper Midwest.

One is Ernie Stevens, 39, an Oneida from Wisconsin, who had been serving as acting associate commissioner for education and programs. The job, which had ranked second only to the commissioner's, was eliminated. Stevens reverted to his permanent post as director of community services, where he oversees housing, welfare and other social aid programs — and reports now to Crow rather than to Bruce.

The other Upper Midwesterner is Leon Cook, 32, a Red Lake Chippewa from Minnesota, who had been serving as acting director of economic development and had been running that program. He has been replaced by William Freeman, who has carried the title of economic development director but who was on special assignment as an assistant to the commissioner. Cook reverted to his permanent post as deputy director of economic development — where he now reports to Freeman.

Crow Cook Stevens

■ Took control of the bureau's most important efforts by ordering that all funds for Indian tribes and other Indian groups, all directives to BIA field offices, all press releases, all correspondence with "policy implications" and all high-level personnel actions be cleared through the office of the deputy commissioner.

Crow and Interior Department officials said in interviews last week that the changes were designed to retain the innovativeness of the 15 or so newcomers brought in last year in the upper echelons, tighten up on somewhat slipshod administrative practices that were largely the result of inexperience and overeagerness and, in the long run, better enable the bureau to carry out President Nixon's policy of giving Indians a greater role in determining their own destiny.

Many of the reformers don't see it quite that way. Expressing perhaps at least in part the red man's historical suspicion of the white man who has done him in so often, they charged that the appointment of Crow was a step back toward the old day of "administrative paralysis" when, they say, the bureau often seemed to care little about the Indian and did less.

Crow, 59, is a one-quarter Oklahoma Cherokee who has a long history of prior service in the BIA, including duty as superintendent of a number of reservations and as deputy commissioner and acting commissioner during the early and mid 1960s.

Since 1966 he had been associate director of the Bureau of Land Management in Interior.

Loesch said in an interview last week that he backed Crow because he was a "proved administrator who knew the BIA and could get his hands on the reins real quick."

Bruce, Loesch said, will continue to function as an "interpreter of policy" and as a "front man." The commissioner, Loesch said, is "a helluva fella but no administrator."

Bruce, 65, is a member of the Oglala Sioux tribe of South Dakota and was a New York dairy farmer before being named commissioner in 1969. He has worked hard to implement self-determination and is regarded by the young BIA reformers, many of whom he recruited, as a slowly gaining a degree of respect from tribal Indians but who often lacks clout in Washington.

They also note with concern that Crow is the second BIA veteran to be restored to a position of influence since Morton became secretary.

The first was Wilma Victor, a 27-year career educator in the BIA. She los out in a bid for the to education job under Bruc last year and wound up in the Phoenix, Ariz., BIA area office. Miss Victor had become particularly controversial when charges of brutality and racial discrimination were raised against the BIA's Intermountain Boarding School for Navajo students in Utah while she was superintendent there in 1970.

Miss Victor, 51, who reportedly has known Morton since their paths crossed during World War II, came back to Washington in March as his special assistant for Indian affairs.

According to a report by the American Indian Press Association, she was so jubilant over Crow's selection that she went to the Washington headquarters of the National Congress of American Indians to announce his appointment personally.

The Congress is the largest organization of Indians. It had complained earlier that it was not being consulted about the proposed appointment of a deputy commissioner.

Leo Vocu, executive director of the congress, had issued a statement accusing the President of breaking faith with the Indians and failing to recognize "our rightful role in the decision-making process that will affect our lives."

By week's end Crow had settled into Stevens's old office next door to commissioner Bruce and was telling reporters that the reformers' fears "are groundless."

The end of reform in the BIA?

Something seems to have happened on the way to reform of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The reform began impressively with President Nixon's message on Indian self-determination and with the appointment of aggressive Indian activists to top BIA posts. But the latest developments, including job shifts reported Sunday by the Tribune's Frank Wright, look like a serious setback.

Officials in the parent Interior Department describe the job changes as an effort to resolve generally recognized administrative problems. This explanation would have more credibility if it were not for the background of two recent appointees and the pattern of recent events.

Both John Crow, newly named deputy BIA commissioner, and Wilma Victor, Interior Secretary Morton's special assistant on Indian affairs, are old-guard BIA bureaucrats. BIA Commissioner Louis Bruce, himself a reformer, is said to have opposed the appointment of Crow. Bruce not only was overridden, but appears to have been overpowered. Crow reportedly was given a grant of power within the BIA equal to that of Bruce.

Other events add to the impression that the reform is being slowed down. Authority to sign contracts for BIA services was taken away from Alexander S. MacNabb, another of the BIA reformers. Word leaked out that Interior was set to name a non-Indian BIA veteran as area director in Minneapolis. Crow downgraded two of the most vocal BIA reformers after taking office.

There are several possible explanations for the recent turn of events. One is that the BIA old guard, whose power is being challenged by Bruce and the reformers, is regaining the upper hand. Another is that the Interior Department is not prepared to take the hard line that was being pushed by reformer Leon Cook against loss of Indian land and water rights. An Interior official admits disagreement on that issue, and Cook was demoted—an old story for Indians. A third explanation is that the changes really are only an effort to improve administration of the bureau.

The reformers plan to continue the struggle within the BIA and see what happens. That seems to be a wise course as long as there still is some hope that reform has a chance. The outcome of the struggle depends on whether the Nixon administration remains committed to Indian self-determination, or is putting up a false front to cover the same old BIA operation. The outlook at this point is gloomy.

August 3, 1971

"Making promises that can't be kept — raising hopes that can't be realized — are the cruelest hoaxes that can be perpetrated on a minority group that has suffered from such tactics for a hundred years."

Richard M. Nixon, 1964

Wilma Victor and Secretary of the Interior Rogers C.B. Morton. Note the painting of the Indians "on the warpath" in the background. Story on the right.

William H. Veeder, 60, is a noted and experienced lawyer who works for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Over the years, he has become an expert on water rights, and over the years, he has become a champion of Indian rights. When President Nixon announced the "new Bureau" policy of Indian Affairs, Veeder went into high gear in alerting tribes of the peril of their water rights, and assisted in their defense.

Still calling most of the shots was Harrison Loesch, assistant secretary of Interior for the Bureau of Land Management, the agency which the BIA is a part of. To Loesch, Veeder was a "complete bigot", "unreasonable", "insubordinate," and told Minneapolis reporters that he ought to be fired.

He decided to transfer Veeder to Phoenix, Arizona – to shelve him, and strip him of power. "I don't know what kind of vendetta he's running," said Veeder, "and I don't give a damn. I don't have to get into vendettas – I know my business."

Veeder has been a thron in the side of the Department of Interior since he arrived there. When Interior came out with its Westwide Plan, a 10-year water-use study for eleven Western states, Veeder called it a "planned catastrophe for Indian peoples."

The mistrust of Indians for BIA people is notorious. And yet Veeder has enjoyed not only the trust and respect of many Indians, but their friendship as well.

"If anyone comes to Indian country to help the Indians," said a Bureau associate of Veeder's, "sooner or later they cut him down. That is the way it is, and that's the way it has always been."

Veeder is a member of the Bar of the District of Columbia, and has practiced before the Supreme Court. He has been involved in water law since 1937, and a Federal employee since 1944.

(thanks to American Indian Press Assn.)

background

IN THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS POWER STRUGGLE

Wilma Victor, a 27-year veteran of BIA employment, is the living symbol of the Old Guard approach to Indian Affairs.

A Choctaw from Oklahoma, she rose rapidly through the ranks as a school teacher, administrator, and finally as superintendent of the highly controversial Intermountain BIA boarding school for Navajo Students in Utah. What ever she was doing, the BIA must have liked it, for the promotions came regularly.

When charges of brutality, racial prejudice and discrimination were raised against the Intermountain School administration in early 1970, Miss Victor was taken from her post there and brought to Washington to serve as interim education director until Commissioner Bruce could develop his new administrative team.

Resented by the fresh newcomers as a career bureaucrat and "old-liner", she was reassigned to the Phoenix Area office in chaege of education there. She seemed out of contention for BIA power. Suddenly, she reappeared in Washington in March, 1971, when Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton appointed her as his personal assistant.

As Miss Victor settled into her new position, the internal BIA struggle continued to grow.

The battle seemed an even one until Miss Victor was able to convince her superiors in the Dept. of the Interior to appoint John Crow, a fellow Oklahoman, three-quarters white and one quarter Cherokee. He was an old friend.

Crow, 59, had also risen rapidly through the BIA ranks to become a superintendent and finally BIA deputy commissioner under Philleo Nash in the early 1960s. Crow became known as a careful administrator who "went by the book manual" of all BIA regulations.

But Crow was later removed by then-Secretary Stewart Udall who desired to break the system of bureaucrats supporting fellow bureaucrats in order to let new ideas flow into the BIA. Udall moved Crow to a position in the Bureau of Land Management in the Dept. of Interior, where he remained until July 23 of this year. So he is once again deputy commissioner.

The long struggle for control of the Indian Bureau now begins anew. Control will be in the hands of Crow for internal procedures, policy will come from Interior Department.

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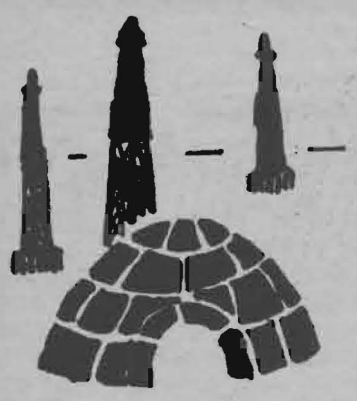
"I HAVE SEEN THE THUNDER AND THE LIGHTNING MANY TIMES, BUT I'VE YET TO SEE THE RAIN."

— Tesuque Pueblo elder on hearing BIA promises



Sam Jacobson—IEA Bulletin

Alaska's natives seek title to 60 million acres of their own land

Anchorage, Alaska

"Why, if those 54,000 Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts were given the land and cash settlement they demand, they'd nudge out RCA as the 19th-richest U.S. corporation," said Claire Bank, executive secretary of the Greater Anchorage Chamber of Commerce.

"Uptight" is a mild description of how most Alaskans feel about those demands. If they're not settled, they could further delay the building of the oil pipeline from the North Slope, the flowing of the oil to Valdez and the $300 million a year the state could collect from that Arctic-pumped bonanza.

"Go give 'em the land, they'll get drunk and we'll have it all back," said a cynical Anchorage businessman.

Another reaction comes from Ron S. Rettig, a member of former Gov. Walter Hickel's cabinet, and a savings-and-loan association president.

"I think the natives are smart enough to know when they need to employ expert assistance," he says. "I have no idea what reins the government will put on a settlement, if it ever makes one. If the natives are given the right to manage themselves, they'll play it pretty smart. But 60 million acres is a terrible burden for them to have to carry."

Bob Reeve, a veteran bush pilot now head of Aleutian Airways, insists, "they're not going to get it. Why, if those natives deserve 60 million acres, they deserve the whole state. And that will set a precedent for your Minnesota and the Dakotas to be given back to your Indians. How'd you like that?"

Northwest ordinance was unequivocal

The Alaskan native peoples and the Indians of the United States can embarrass everybody else by quoting the Northwest Ordinance, which made the first official declaration of American policy toward aboriginal people in 1788: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their land and their property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty, they never shall be disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress."

The record of national policy toward native people has gone steadily downhill ever since. That's why this all-out demand by well-organized, well-educated, insistent yet pragmatic spokesmen for Alaska's natives has been able to throw a wrench in the works of the biggest single oil operation in American history.

"Most of their people leading the native claims are in their early 20s and 30s," said Anchorage attorney Martin Farrell, who is also a state representative. "They're not my clients, but politically I feel allied. Their cause is just. Without great experience in politics, negotiation with government, they've proven tremendously responsible. They're a fifth of our population and have exactly that representation in our state legislature. Next time there'll be more. Some white guys who represent areas out there are going to be defeated."

A key to the settlement of the Alaskan natives' demands is 41-year-old Donald R. Wright, president of the Alaska Federation of Natives. His mother was German, his father half British and half Athabascan Indian. Wright's birth certificate describes him as "half breed."

What about the claim that their demands would make them the "19th-richest U.S. corporation instead of RCA?"

Wright smiled. "Simply not true," he said, quietly. "The way our proposed legislation is written, we would form village corporations in each of our 220 native villages. These would get 75 percent of the proceeds. They'd be grouped into twelve regional corporations, which would divide another 20 percent of the sum, based on population. The Alaska Federation of Natives, our parent organization, would retain 5 percent."

Native group claims opposition of bankers

"The only real opposition to a fair, generous land and money settlement comes from those Chamber and banker people and their lawyers," Wright said with a touch of sharpness. "They're trying to protect their leases. Those people come up here, lease land for 50 cents an acre, turn around and sell it and become millionaires overnight while we native people struggle for an existence. It's unfair, unconstitutional and, dammit, they'd better wake up. We're free people. We have the land. If the U.S. government wants it, let them pay a fair price and let them look at us as intelligent human beings. We're just as human as every senator and congressman in Washington."

Why that much? Why 60 million acres?

"Often the yield of a thousand acres will support only one person," says one of the reports of Wright's organization. "In some regions, a village of 800 people may require as much as 600,000 acres to range over."

The billion-dollar settlement, with another $500 million each year from 2-percent oil and mineral royalties, doesn't sound exorbitant to the native peoples when they note that the oil companies paid the state $900 million just for the initial North Slope leases. Unless great profits were to be tapped, why spend money like that? Or on the pipeline and all the rest?

Eskimo villages, so filled with snow, sunshine and fat, happy children in picture books and brochures, are, in reality, bottom-of-the-barrel poor. Infant mortality is 82 per thousand. (For non-whites in Minnesota, it's 35 per thousand.) The average native living in an Alaskan village dies at 33.

"If the government doesn't settle our claims properly, we'll be just like your Indian tribes are," predicted Wright. "Every year we'll be back for something else. You just can't take away the total economy of a people and expect the transition from subsistence to cash economy without financial help and land. We're competent. We want a balance between land and human beings. If it has to happen slowly, all right. But we don't want paternalism. And we don't intend to get screwed up just because the rest of the United States is."

The bill, including most of the natives' demands for land and cash, is supported by a dozen senators, including Democrats Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale of Minnesota and George McGovern of South Dakota. The Nixon administration has suggested 40 thousand acres, plus that $500 million in cash and the 2-percent oil royalty with a yearly ceiling of another $500 million.

Wright's group is calling for the full 60 million acres.

The antagonism in Alaska is deepening.

'Move That Eskimo Here, This Penguin There, And Take The Pipeline Through Here!'

THE NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 27, 1971

Morton, in Alaska, Studies Land Claims and Pipeline

Special to The New York Times

ANCHORAGE, June 26—Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton crisscrossed 3,000 miles of this vast state last week to assess the proposed trans-Alaska pipeline route and Alaska natives' land claims, his department's two main concerns here.

Mr. Morton touched base at both ends of the 786-mile pipeline route, talked with leaders of the Alaska Federation of Natives and shook hundreds of hands at Republican gatherings.

He also announced that he would indefinitely extend the freeze on disposition of Federal lands here, which total nearly 300 million of the state's 350 million acres, until the Alaskan natives' claims are settled by Congress.

In Barrow, the world's largest Eskimo village, Mr. Morton told a joint meeting of the Alaska Federation of Natives and the Arctic Slope Native Association that he might reluctantly issue a pipeline permit without a Congressional settlement of land claims.

The federation, which seeks a settlement of 60 million acres, $500-million and a 2 per cent royalty on oil revenue in perpetuity, believes that the pipeline is its best bargaining point for a generous bill on land claims.

A State Senator who is a federation board member, Willie Hensley, Democrat of Kotzebue, advised Mr. Morton, "We feel that, once the pipeline permit is issued, in many eyes in Congress the land claims issue itself will be shunted aside. It is the oil that is desired by the country."

Joseph Upicksoun, president of the native association, which represents 4500 Eskimos who claim North Slope land, says his group will proceed with a lawsuit against the pipeline if the land claims are not settled first.

Hopeful on Claims

Mr. Morton said, "I'm hopeful we will not have to issue a pipeline permit prior to the Alaskan settlement of land claims, but I'm going to regard the two issues separately only to the extent that the legal question is involved."

"But, if I feel that it is in the national security interest to do so, then I will issue the permit, and if I have the legal advice that would make it appropriate and proper to do so, then I would issue the permit, he went on.

In Anchorage, the Secretary told a civic luncheon attended by 600 people, "It seems perfectly compatible to me that here, in this great land, known for its beauty, vastness and tenderness, should be the place where man decides to put the biggest proposition that he's ever put at one time on the crust of the earth—namely, a 48-inch pipeline across this state."

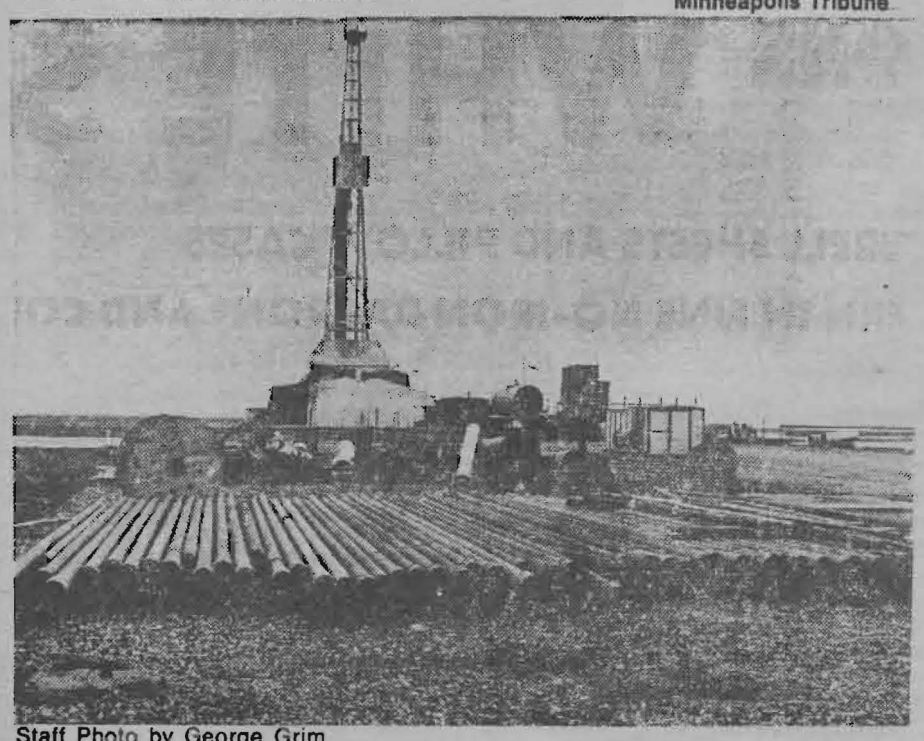
First Official Visit

Mr. Morton was making his first visit since succeeding a former Alaska Governor, Walter J. Hickel as Secretary of the Interior. He would be responsible for issuing a construction permit for the $2-billion-plus pipeline and he serves as Federal trustee for the state's 55,000 Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts.

He is chief spokesman for the Nixon Administration's proposal to terminate aboriginal land claims in exchange for a 40-million acre, $500-million settlement.

The former Republican National Chairman was careful neither to coddle nor alienate his varied constituents here.

Minneapolis Tribune Tues., July 13, 1971



Staff Photo by George Grim

This well, belonging to the Atlantic Richfield Oil Co., stands idle with all equipment in place.

Tundra Times photo

Interior Secretary Rogers Morton tells Joe Upickson, president of Arctic Slope Native Assn. that he might approve the pipeline before claims are settled. Upickson promised a lawsuit in reply. Note the cordial smiles.

Clear Creek
617 Mission Street
San Francisco, California 94105

PIT RIVER NATION
No Treaty, No Land

Photos by Indians of All Tribes

by
Indians of
All Tribes

We Indians know that unity is the only thing that will let us survive as a people. In California, the massacre of our people began with the Spanish who slaughtered whole tribes. Then came the forty-niner white men who took over the slaughter from Spanish hands. White vigilante groups are forming; surely the descendants of the killers of yesterday. Already one of our leaders has been shot.

The Pit River action is the story of the American Indian. It is unique in that there are no legal treaties involved. It is the account of our wish, as Indians, to remain close to our Mother Earth.

In 1852-53, the United States government sent commissioners to negotiate treaties with California Indian tribes in order to get the land. The eighteen treaties negotiated by the commissioners were never ratified by the U.S. Senate, and are therefore *illegal*. The U.S. government in 1853 passed the Registration Act, contrary to Constitutional principles, in order to declare Indian lands public domain; another *illegal act*!

The Pit River Nation claims 3.4 million acres of land in northern California. The U.S. commissioners have never even negotiated a treaty with the Pit River Nation, and the tribe has had very little dealings with the federal government or the colonial administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

Fishing, hunting, and the gathering of foods was the basic means of existence for the Pit River Nation. Dams were built and interfered with the spawning salmon. Huge, monstrous, mountain-to-mountain dams now supply San Francisco and Los Angeles with their neon nightmares, while in Pit River country very few Indians can afford the luxury of electricity. The Pit River people must carry water from creeks, and the salmon-filled streams and rivers of yesterday are now remembered mostly in stories.

White-owned timber companies felled whole forests and chased the bear and deer deep into the mountains. Farms and ranches destroyed grazing lands, acorn and pinenut stands, and put up fences and signs which say that this Indian land is privately owned. For over forty years the tribe has sent tribal council delegations to Washington, D.C., to seek justice; to plead for the people; to demand their lands back for their people; not money, but land. But the great white fathers have refused to even see them. Pleas and demands have fallen to blind and deaf fools.

What more proof that "Democracy, with liberty and justice for all," is also a white-controlled idea, that a fence and a sign saying, "Democracy, White-owned, Keep Out!" has already been put around the whole country!

Then in the 1950's, the "great white father" in Washington, D.C. spoke through his agent, the Indian Land Claims Commission, to offer the Indian tribes of California 47¢ an acre for all their stolen lands. The Pit River Indians, still living on parts of their ancestral lands, said simply, no! They didn't want money, no matter how much, for their Mother Earth. They wanted and still want, the return of their lands, their mother.

So basic and simple a concept, that earth and men are one, that you do not sell your mother; yet this belief of our Indian people is still not understood by the white man. In Pit River country, the white business interests, including timber, cattle, farms and industry (Pacific Gas and Electric Company is a good example; with 52,000 acres of Pit River land, and assets in the billions of dollars) continue as if unaware of the Pit River Nation.

BATTLE OF FOUR CORNERS

In October of 1970, Pit River Indians and other Indian supporters occupied a site at the Four Corners area in Burney, California. We had erected a quonset hut (donated by the government) and were in the process of felling trees for building traditional structures when about eighty federal officers, sheriff's deputies, and even Forestry employees appeared. Armed with mace, clubs, shotguns, and even an automatic rifle, the troops surrounded our Indian camp with the intention of stopping the timber cutting and of destroying the quonset hut to force us to move. We had occupied this site to house and feed everyone who had to go to trial for land occupations, trials two miles away in town.

Pit Indians continue occupation

July 23, 1971

BIG BEND — The Pit River Indians announced takeover today of 900 acres of Pacific Gas and Electric Co. land off Cove Road near Big Bend.

Members of the tribe moved onto the site of rolling meadow and rugged, wooded hills Tuesday following a decision to occupy by the tribal council, according to Tribal Chairman Ross Montgomery.

Some 30 members of the tribe were on the site this morning. Plans call for farming, hunting, fishing and the building of dwellings.

Montgomery said that the attempt to farm wasn't in the tradition of Indian life but is to some extent an adoption to white man's ways:

"But in doing this we'll be closer to Mother Earth than if we went down to town and lived like the white man expects us and has been trying to force us to live for many, many years."

This marks the second time the Pit River Indians have occupied land within their ancestral domain claimed by PG&E. In June, 1970, the tribe occupied a PG&E employe campground near Big Bend which resulted in some 50 arrests and long, drawn-out trespass trials in Burney and Sacramento.

In the last trial of 35 defendants in Sacramento Municipal Court, all 35 were found innocent of trespassing on the land itself and seven were convicted of trespassing within cabins on the camp ground.

Send letters and contributions to:
Pit River Legal Aid and Information
c/o Mrs. Raymond Lego
Montgomery Creek, California 96065

How Democracy Came to St. Regis.....

(Both in the United States and Canada, there has been much talk about Self Government for Indians. In Canada there is talk about revising the Indian Act so that reserves could become similar to municipalities. In the U.S., tribes which "are ready" are being "allowed" to manage their own affairs.

(None of this is new, however. It began in Canada in 1884. At Akwesasne, the result was the death of one man, chiefs imprisoned as hostages, and the institution of a foreign system of government. In 1971, there are many who do not accept that government, yet to Canada it is the only one which exists.

(This, then, is the story about how Indians have been oppressed in the name of democracy. The setting is Akwesasne (St. Regis), and it is in the past — but it has much to say to Indians everywhere about the future.)

by Rarihokwats
Editor, Akwesasne Notes

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The Indian Advancement Act of 1884 was passed by the Canadian Parliament so that the "more advanced bands of Indians of Canada" could elect chiefs "with a view to training them for the exercise of municipal powers." The Deputy Superintentendent-General of Indian Affairs wrote to all his Indian Agents:

"The Department has no desire to force the adoption of the provisions of this act upon any band of Indians, but it considers that it will be in the interests of such as are capable of intelligently conforming to the provisions thereof. . .

"The object of the Department is to endeavour to promote their advancement in civilization and intelligence with a view to eventually attaining to an equality in those respects with the white portion of the population."

This Act, which was to apparently make Indians almost as intelligent as white people, specified complicated laws providing for nominating meetings, seconding of nominations, posted notification of election meetings, etc. The Department seemed to like the idea, and promoted it vigorously.

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Oblivious to all of these goings-on in Ottawa, the people of Akwesasne continued their usual existence. The community life went on quite normally.

"The Indians in my agency for the last year have had a fair average crop, and in general are prospering well. Last winter was a busy time with them in furnishing the demands called for in their line of basket-making. They had ready sales for all they could make. The total Indian population is 1190. As usual, the Grand Procession was held here on Sunday, the 8th of May last. They had a fine day and a large gathering. At one time there was moored at the wharf four steamers."

So read the report of St. Regis' Indian Agent George Long. Nearby, at another Mohawk reserve, the agent was already skillfully involving himself in the teaching of democracy to his wards. But what happened if the Indians elected the "wrong people"? As usual, the Department had the answer. This exchange of letters took place between the Agent, and the Secretary for Indian Affairs:

"I am informed that Archibald Culbertson intends to offer himself as a candidate for re-election. Will you kindly advise me whether I shall record his name as a candidate, for a number of the band are opposed to his re-election?"

". . .(reply) there would appear to be nothing in the law to prevent Culbertson from offering himself as a candidate, but the Department would, of course, reserve to itself the right to allow or disallow his election should he succeed in obtaining the largest number of votes . . ."

The regulations specified the Agent was to be in charge of the elections as returning officer, and he recorded who voted for whom on a permanent record, person by person.

It was probably disillusioning to the Department that the people of this Mohawk community, Tyendinega, wanted to go back to their own system of selecting chiefs. In a petition dated October 29, 1888, to the Governor-General of Canada, the people clearly stated their idea of how they wished their democracy to operate:

"Brother! As we understand that the majority must rule, and a very large majority of the Bay of Quinte Six Nations Mohawks have on the 13th day of October, 1887, renewed their Council Fire according to their rites, and decided to do away with council men entirely, and have hereditary chiefs take their places. Our brethren, the Six Nations Chiefs on the 15th of the same month, and also on the 13th day of September, 1888, and by a large majority, approved of the system of having hereditary chiefs instead of council men. We therefore do not want our Council Fire extinguished because it was the custom and manner of our forefathers. . .

St. Regis Village, main center of Akwesasne, at the turn of the century

"We lay before Your Excellency of our main object to do way of electing council committee because they are working contrary to the welfare of the Bay of Quinte Six Nations, that we have entirely lost confidence in them, and that there is division among themselves which they have unseated one without the consent of the people. And moreover, the intoxicant liquors is used every election day. . ."

Because they did not receive a favourable reply, the people again wrote out a petition, this time reminding the Governor-General of the obligations which the British Crown had assumed in the past. It recalled promises the British made to "remain in its own vessel, and the Indian in his birch bark canoe," and that the "British will never make any compulsory laws for the Six Nations and the treaties between them shall remain unmolested forever." It reminded him of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, in which the Indian land would be secured to them free of molestation. And lastly, it reminded them of the solemn promise of peace and friendship:

"We will remind you of the Covenant Chain of Peace and Friendship between the English people and the Six Nations. When our forefathers first made the Covenant Chain with the English, both parties engaged to keep the ends of it fast in their hands: that they would take care to keep it from breaking, or from getting any rust or filth upon it. That they would be as one flesh and blood so that if any enemies should intend to hurt or strike one party, the other should immediately give notice, rise up and help him, that a good road should always be kept open between them.

"We the old people (are sorely grieved) of receiving such a document from the Privy Council stating that our wishes cannot be complied with. . .It fills us with great concern. Neither can we visualize any account for it, having always lived in the strictest friendship with the British Government and our forefathers faithfully served and assisted them in all their wars back against the French, and in the Revolutionary War. We therefore cannot but think extremely hard to be deprived from our liberties, rights, and privileges, and also to be deprived from our rational freedom and to suffer such treatment, in return to pass laws to encroach our systematic constitution and also to our treaty rights in which our forefathers in their great wisdom thought proper to enter into an alliance with the English. And also the treaties were sealed in blood of our forefathers to benefit and to promote their children's children's welfare, It is necessary in order for the preservation of our liberties and rights, privileges and customs.

"Brother! At the time of the formation of the treaties to be perpetuated, the Six Nations Indians were found and looked upon as a people, and had a systematic constitution. Therefore, they were enabled to form these very important and sound treaties with the English nation. . . It was understood by both parties in their treaties that each should maintain their own constitutions, but in the present instance it appears that the Silver Chain is now tarnished upon these points. . .

"The Canadian Government which does not recognize us fully looks upon the Six Nations as minors and treats them as such.

"Brother! We quote the words of Lord Dufferin, one of your predecessors, saying the people of Canada and the people of Britain will not cease to recognize these obligations. . .Never shall the word of Britain, once pledged, be broken. . .

"Brother! We now beg to assure you that our feelings of loyalty to the British Crown are as deep, as sincere, and as true at this day as they were in the days of our forefathers of old. . .

"We will give you the statement made by Agent Hill on the 10th of November, saying that the Government are getting tired of us Indians, and they'd rather get rid of us, and also stated that we Indians will be paying taxes soon enough. . .

". . . we are your most obedient, and most humble and devoted friends."

The Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, to whom the petition was automatically referred was not impressed by the arguments raised in the petition, and simply wrote the Privy Council his recommendation, which the Council fully accepted:

"It would be inexpedient to make the proposed change, and Your Excellency is therefore unable to acceed to their request, and that it is considered unnecessary to prolong the correspondence."

Again, but this time by delegation, the Bay of Quinte people approached the Governor-General in 1889, asking him:

"What is your power and authority to rule our people?

". . .Rotiyaner (the chiefs) have at all times the power to legislate, oversee, and supervise all matters of business, interest, advantages, and general welfare of the people, when said Rotiyaner represents always to abide with the pledge of keeping the War Club and war material of every description buried in oblivion, by always propagating the policy of peace, justice, between their allied nations of Indians and between man and man. Also to be a moralist or spiritual advisor."

The petition was signed by the men who had been selected by the clanmothers to perform the peaceful duties just listed.

Still not recognized by the Canadian Government, the people again by petition lamented the deepening breech in the relationship between their people and the Canadian Government. In a lengthy petition to Lord Stanley of Preston, Governor-General, they reminded him of the friendship they had given to his people, and pleaded that now that their position was reversed, that they would be treated equally as well:

"Brother! We remember still that when our forefathers first met with you, when you came with your ship, and our forefathers kindly received you and entertained you and entered into an alliance with you. Though our forefathers were then great and numerous, and your people were inconsiderable and weak, and they knew that, they entered into a Covenant Chain with you and fastened your ship therewith, being apprehensive the bark would break away and your ship be lost. . .

"Brother! We are now inconsiderable and weak, and you are now a great and numerous people, and you know that we entered into a Covenant Chain of Brotherly Love, and therefore we also like to be entertained and recognize our request concerning our just rights from the Government.

"Brother! . . . It is now 225 years since our forefathers and others have signed an agreement. As Captain Joseph Brant long afterwards said in one of his speeches that the Mohawks were determined to sink or swim with the English. But Sir, we are sinking fast because our treaty right is neglected."

At Caughnawaga, at Oka, and at St. Regis, people were feeling much the same. In December, 1890, for example, the Caughnawaga people wrote the Government of their intention to remain with their traditional form of government:

". . .since every nation throughout the world retains their own customs, rites, and ceremonies, and according to the British Constitution, it gives them full privileges and entire power to create Kings, Queens, and Lords and Peers as hereditaries. . .

"Brother! We cannot account that why we cannot adhere according to our customs, rights, and ceremonies, since it will give no hindrance to advance in civilization."

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And at St. Regis, the people signed their names and marks on this petition:

"The Indian Act only breeds sorrow, contention, hatred, disrespect of family ties, spite against one another, and absence of unity among us Indians. It also creates two distinct parties at the elections. This law was never authorized in its adaptation among the Indians. . . There is only one way to recover brotherly feelings, that of substituting the seven lords appointed by each of the seven totems according to the ancient customs which we know gave us peace, prosperity, friendship, and brotherly feelings in every cause, either for personal good, or for the benefit of the entire band."

Over a thousand Iroquois from Oka and Caughnawaga and St. Regis met to sign the petition quoted above. They were calling for a reuniting of the Confederacy, now struggling for life against religious, political, geographic differences.

Because of the hubbub of the mass meetings and the petitions which were inundating the Governor-General, the Honourable T. Mayne Daly, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, and his deputy, went to Caughnawaga for a public meeting.

The official minutes of the meeting were written by an assistant who paraphrased the many emotional appeals in Mr. Daly's speech:

"What would their Ontario brothers say when they hear that the Caughnawagas wish to go back to the old condition, and what would the white people think? They had to consider their children's children, in connection with the question."

"No matter what might be the views of different members of the band, the responsibility of the decision would be upon him. If the decision resulted in the Indians going backward instead of forward it was he that would be held responsible. He had to consider and decide the question solely with a view to their best interest. If he went back and told his colleagues in the Government that the Indians of Caughnawaga, St. Regis, and Oka, the most advanced and intelligent Indians in Canada, wanted to go back to the old system, he would have great difficulty in convincing them that such was really the desire of the Indians.

"Apart from the question which they had met to discuss, the Minister said he had a few words of advice to offer. He then reminded them of the great market which they had at the very door in the City of Montreal, and he pointed out to them that if they would work the valuable land of the reserve in raising vegetables and butter and food for that market, they would in a very few years be as well off as any farmers in the country.

"He then dealt upon the evils resulting from agitation, telling them that among the Indians, as among white men, the man who talks the most did the least, and in the end was the worse off. Of the 400 or more present, only about 10 spoke. When those who had said nothing, contenting themselves with listening, thought the matter over at their firesides, they would conclude, Mr. Daly thought, that when the Government applied the Advancement Act to them, it was done in their best interest. He added that it would take a great deal to lead them to revoke its application.

"If we do not meet your wishes, said Mr. Daly, you must not think hardly of us, for we look upon every question solely from the standpoint of your interests, and the experience gained in the Government of all the Indians of the Dominion is used in dealing with your affairs."

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A year later, there was a new Minister of Indian Affairs, and the women of Caughnawaga decided to try again. They wrote to the Honourable Clifford Sifton:

". . .We are simply women, but it is in the confidence of our noble and gracious mother, the Queen of England, who, being a woman, and recalling to mind that your mother was also a woman. Think it is she now that begs and humbles before your feet. Kindly hear our words of petition, and do not despise the words and voice of a woman.

"Listen to us as it were the voice of your kind and loving mother. . . Since the change of our chiefs, into councillors, our sorrows manifolded, we have lost many advantages, it has caused many family disputes, brother against brother. It has separated them, and it has caused an ill feeling which is yet burning."

To this eloquent plea, Duncan C. Scott, who was to become the Deputy Superintendent-General, wrote back simply:

"I regret that the petition of the Women of Caughnawaga cannot be entertained.

"No attention can be given to any further representations in that regard which may be made by them or any persons on their behalf."

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So that was the general background. Now we look more closely at Akwesasne (St. Regis) to see just how that was to work. The year is 1898. It was to have been an election year under the Indian Act. But the election didn't happen. This is what did.

The Clan Mothers of St. Regis took up what was to be their last petition before swinging into action. On June 2nd, 1898, they wrote the Governor-General:

"We have considered the elective system as not being intended for us Indians, and we would therefore return to our old method of selecting our life chiefs, according to our Constitutional Iroquois Government. As Your Excellency must know, the ancient custom of creating life chiefs is that they are selected according to the different clans, there being three from each clan, and also three women who select her special chief from among her clan. Of these chiefs, one is considered the head chief, the second is 'the big man' and the third is the 'crier'. As there is four distinct clans, there is twelve life chiefs, who hold their offices for life.

"But if any misdemeanor shall offend their clans, these women first hold council with the women of their own clan, and if they find his offense of sufficient strength to warrant his resignation, these women will call upon the men members of their clan, and they meet and select another member to represent them. They then turn the newly selected member to the twelve life chiefs for their confirmation and ratification.

"The women councillors each watches over her special charge and informs them of the rules of their chieftainship. First that he shall never touch spirituous liquors. Second, never to be guilty of theft from the band, if only twenty-five cents. Third, that he shall not commit adultery. This is according to the old time laws and customs that only fit proper members can hold offices."

The Department of Indian Affairs took little notice, but the women went ahead with their meeting, and appointed and confirmed their chiefs, and set up their own government just the same. They told Ottawa what they had done. Predictably, the Department of Indian Affairs responded with a bristle. The Secretary wrote the local agent, George Long:

"The Department is determined not to allow any of the Indians to set its authority at defiance."

The war was on.

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Twice the Department called an election. Twice the people forcibly prevented the election from being held. Inspector McCrea was sent down from Ottawa to hold a meeting, and he reported back directly to the Superintendent-General:

"They were informed in the most explicit terms that even if a return to what they consider their ancient system were allowed, of which no hope whatever could be held out, the relations of the Indians to the law would not be changed in any particular.

"They might as well look for the falling of the sky as to expect recognition of their claim to hold the position of a practically independent state."

He got action from the Superintendent-General who exercised unusual executive authority:

"...the St. Regis Indians be informed through the agent that after careful consideration, I have decided that no return to another system of constituting chiefs than that provided by the Indian Act shall be permitted...the Indians be informed that no further representations will lead in any way to the modification of this decision....that the Indians be informed that the agitation carried on by those members of the band who claim exception from the operation of the law has prevented the distribution of the interest money...that the Indians be informed that as soon as they show their willingness to abide by the law and elect a council under the Indian Act, the interest money will be paid...that the Indians be informed that until a council is elected under the Act, the Department will administer as far as it may the affairs of the band."

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Two months later, the Department of Indian Affairs again tried to hold an election. They didn't, though, and the story of what happened came out in the March 28, 1899, edition of the Montreal *Star* in large headlines:

INDIANS REVOLT AT ST. REGIS
They refuse to allow an election to proceed and assult Dominion Police. Troops may be called out.

"CORNWALL:...In August last, the time for the election of officers, the Dominion Government despatched some of the Dominion Police to St. Regis to maintain order and allow the election to be carried out according to law, but the Indians on the reserve refused to allow the election to proceed and the officers were forced to return to Ottawa.

"The election was again billed for Monday last, and Lieut. Colonel Sherwood, commissioner of Dominion Police, sent Inspector Hogan and Constable Chamberlain to try their hand. At twelve o'clock, these two gentlemen with Indian Agent Long and assistants went to the Village School House, where the election was to have taken place.

"They found it surrounded by about 200 aborigines. They were refused admittance and a general riot took place. The police were badly assulted, and Indian Agent Long was seized and locked up in the school house. A guard was placed over him, and the Dominion Police were driven away. At six o'clock at night, Mr. Long was still caged up.

"Inspector Logan said he could do nothing further in the matter, and would return to Ottawa and report to Commissioner Sherwood, who will in all likelihood send a posse of men, or the 43rd Battalion down to carry out the election.

"The inspector said the tribe became infuriated, and imaged that the old aborigine days had returned. With visions of the warpath before them, they fought like demons and the officers state that had they used their weapons, they would have been scalped by the frenzied mob."

The Ottawa *Citizen* reported that the Indians had not injured the officers, but had simply carried them away bodily, after having taken away their sidearms.

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"INDIANS ARE QUIETER", the Ottawa Citizen reported on March 31, 1899:

"The government is not likely to take any further action at present in the trouble at the St. Regis Reserve, Colonel Sherwood, Commissioner of the Dominion Police stated to a Citizen reporter. The Indians would probably make no further attempt for some time at least to elect their own chiefs. They will probably quiet down and accept the authority of the agency. It is believed a few hot heads in the tribe started the trouble. ... Should they, however, persist in running an election according to tribal custom, stern measures will be adopted with them."

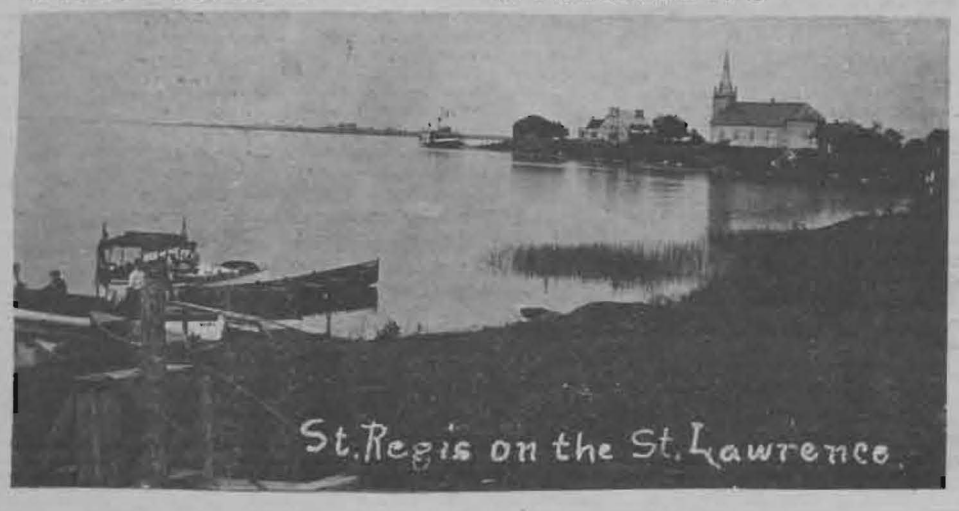
And so all was quiet on a warm day in May in the village of St. Regis. The corn had just been planted, the church was preparing for the annual grand procession, and the Spring fish run was about over. It was time to begin thinking of employment for the summer. A messenger went to the homes of the Life Chiefs to say there were some men at the Agent's office to interview workmen, and to see the chiefs about buying stone to rebuild the collapsed piers of the Cornwall Bridge. When the chiefs arrived at the office, they found no interviewers, but Colonel Sherwood himself, a contingent of policemen, and warrants for their arrest. They had arrived at the village via tugboat from Valleyfield in the early hours of the morning to lay the trap. The full story is best told as it was read in the House of Commons by the member of Parliament from Beauharnois:

"... two or three, unsuspecting of any plot, hurried to the office where they were seized and promptly manacled by the police. A squaw saw them throw down one poor fellow and put handcuffs on him and hurried to tell her brother.

"Furious at the intelligence, Jake Ice burst into the office and flew to release his brother. Colonel Sherwood intercepted him, and a struggle ensued during which Sherwood, stronger and younger than Ice, shot him twice, the second shot being fatal.

"The police, with their prisoners, marched to the tug and left unmolested, although the whole tribe was gathered at the wharf and could have overwhelmed them had they not been what they really are, a quiet and inoffensive people."

Even though the agent's office was full of policemen, and Ice was the only Indian present without handcuffs, Ab Cawdron, the secretary to the Commissioner, was quoted in the Ottawa Journal as saying:



"I tell you, we were as near death as I ever want to be, and had Colonel Sherwood not shot Ice, none of the officers would be alive today..."

The Huntington *Gleaner*, the nearest "local" paper, was outraged. In an editorial which was published May 4, 1899, but which still seems appropriate today, said:

"That the killing of a man at St. Regis should have given shock to this community is not to be wondered at, for we are neighbors to the Indians. But we trust it will have a wider effect, that it may be the means of calling public attention to the treatment of the St. Regis Band and induce the government to look into the causes of the trouble which had so deplorable a result.

"Had the Indian Advancement Act not been made to apply to the St. Regis Band, there would not be today a woman and three children mourning over a dead husband and father, and the tribe would be spared the painful ordeal they are now undergoing of being harassed by the officers of the law...

"It is because the Ottawa Department was determined on forcing the change before these people are ready for it that the shocking collision took place. A body of Dominion Police were sent from Ottawa to maintain the majesty of Red Tape and departmental woodenheadedness by arresting the leaders of those who defeated the attempt to elect councillors.

"In reality, the whites have been the aggressors all through the wretched affair, which has had so tragic an ending. It was the whites who passed a law to interfere with the internal management of an inoffensive tribe, and the Indians were merely resisting an attempt to change the customs that are dear to them and which concern themselves alone... They simply ask to be let alone, an independent community, ruled by themselves, and we do not see why what they ask should be withheld. The Government can well afford to call a truce, stop further proceedings, and send a message of peace to St. Regis that it will be classed among the reserves exempted from the operation of the statute they so much dislike."

But the Government was not about to call a truce. In fact, warrants were issued for more of the chiefs. Upon hearing of this, seven chiefs went to Beauharnois, *voluntarily*, where they were jailed. Louis David and a friend, not knowing warrants were out for them as well, went to hire a lawyer to aid them. He didn't make it to the lawyer's office, and the Huntington *Gleaner* reported what happened to him:

"Those who were present on the platform on the New York Central Station in Huntington on the morning of the second were witnesses of the outrageous manner in which the Indians were arrested. Two decent looking red men were waiting to take the train to Beauharnois. They made no concealment of who they were, or their errand, telling they were on their way on behalf of the tribe to engage a lawyer to defend those arrested on Monday. The two men were quite unsuspicious of danger, and unconscious of having done wrong. Suddenly, a rush was made on them from back and front, and one was seized and handcuffed by men who bore no outward sign of officers, and who read no warrant..

The Huntington paper went on to talk about the inquest into John Ice's death:

"Louis Sunday testified at the inquest that hearing an alarm, he ran to the office, and just as he passed the door, he was felled by a blow over the eyes. He is now in jail awaiting trial. Trial for what? The agent's office is a public place, and any Indian had a right to go to it. Sunday declared before the Coroner's Jury he went without malice, and in ignorance of what was going on, and purely from curiosity. He is met at the door by a stranger in everyday dress and knocked senseless.

"It is not the man who struck him who is arrested, but the Indian, who is torn from his home, put in jail, and awaits his trial for assaulting an officer of justice. And obstructing him in the discharge of his duty. Considering all these details, we think it would be a mistake in the Indians to make any compromise. The government ought to drop the prosecution."

But the prosecution wasn't dropped. Although some of the men were eventually released on bail, Louis David, Jake Fire, Joseph Thompson, Mitchell Day and Louis Leaf – all Life Chiefs – were kept in jail. They spent the Spring there, the Summer, watched the leaves turn in the Autumn, went through the Winter in their cells, and the following Spring were finally brought to trial! That they were political prisoners is evident from the letters from the Indian Affairs Branch secretary to the Deputy Minister of Justice:

"...With respect to those Indians of St. Regis who were imprisoned at Beauharnois in May last... it has been decided that the whole of the Indians on bail should appear, and that then, with the exception of two or three of the most notorious elements, they should be discharged upon giving proper recognizance to appear if required."

Not only was this to happen, but the Department of Indian Affairs planned to make the Indians pay for the cost of their prosecution, as well as the costs of their defense. The Inspector of Indian Agencies wrote Ottawa:

"... so as to establish the amenability of all to the laws of Canada, and to dispel the fictions of the agitators, such two or three will be tried, and if possible, convicted and sentenced.

"The costs of prosecution may be fairly borne by the band's fund, as the prosecution was indubitably in the band's best interests."

The inspector had made all of this very clear to the Indians. The Departmental interpreter noted in a memorandum:

"The delegates wanted the government to intervene and stop the trial. Mr. McCrea told them it depended altogether on their part. If at their request, they should show good and proper spirit to obey the law, by passing a resolution to have a lockup at that reserve and constables placed there, the Department will try to intervene in the coming trial."

Even the Mohawk's own lawyer wrote to the Department of Indian Affairs:

"I pointed out that the results of the trial that take place...would probably largely depend on whether the chiefs should decide to submit to the departmental views of the situation or not."

And so the trial came and went, and strong warnings were given to the accused: Thomas Sand, Louis Thomas, Jacob Fire, Louis David, John Skin, John Nine Angus, John Angus Louis, Joseph Martin, Angus Papineau, Mitchell Bova, Peter Day, Louis Terrance, Mitchell Oak, John Back, and William Mussell.

Inspector McCrea gathered up a small group of supporters, took them over to the city of Cornwall, where they staged an election among themselves. As the report was made to the Deputy Minister,

"There was only a small attendance, but twelve chiefs were elected."

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And so today, in 1971, only a small percentage of people at Akwesasne participate in the elective system, and yet it is the only group recognized by the Government of Canada. At the Longhouse, hereditary chiefs still counsel for the Mohawk people, both in the U.S., and in Canada, keeping in mind the generations yet unborn. Neither the United States nor Canada will acknowledge that they exist.

The stand of the larger governments is not justified in terms of right or wrong, but rather in terms of strategies. As an agent remarked about the hereditary system:

"No doubt you know the nature of Indians. If you yield a point in their favour, they demand another, and you will not be done with them until trouble will spread over the village and the reserve."

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Rest well, Mohawks of Akwesasne. The Canadian Government has taught you How Democracy Works.

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"The earth and myself are of one mind."

—HINMATON YALATKIT (Rolling Thunder in the Mountains)
Nez Perce (Chief Joseph) 1832-1904

Additional copies of this poster on heavy paper can be obtained for 25 cents each from
AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683

Conflict at Akwesasne

The conflict between the Mohawks of Akwesasne and the Government of Canada is essentially cultural, and centres largely on conflicting concepts of law and community control — not on problems of poverty. Most Mohawks, such as the high steel worker below, are self-supporting.

Friday, December 18, 1970, was the second anniversary of the Cornwall Bridge Blockade, when several hundred Mohawk Indians from the Cornwall Island and St. Regis Reserves blocked the passage of traffic between the two international bridges linked by a short road on Cornwall Island. The Indians were demanding the right promised to them in Jay's Treaty, following the American Revolution and confirmed under the Treaty of Ghent after the War of 1812, to bring personal goods freely across the border.

On this anniversary there was no public show of grievance. But the people at Akwesasne, which is the Mohawk name for St. Regis, had neither forgotten the occasion nor given up the struggle. Many were for the moment drained of their political energies, from a long, difficult and partly successful effort to reclaim two islands during the spring and summer of the past year. Others were doing much more basic organizing and skill development within the community.

Also, the direct and immediate threat posed two years earlier when the Minister of National Revenue issued orders to begin collecting tariffs from the Indians had been removed. Not that the government had recognized the Indians' treaty rights. That would require an act of parliament that would contradict the present Minister's whole policy. It was only that for the moment the government had decided that applying the customs law to the Mohawks would impose greater penalties on itself than on the Indians. While the confrontation did not secure reform of the law for Indians in general it did secure a waiver for the community in protest. And that difference may be the best symbol of the relationship between the people at Akwesasne and the law of Canada.

It is a strange relationship. No Indian can really ignore the government. But traditional Mohawks also cannot acknowledge it. Unlike the northern Indians who are so much poorer than the well-paid steel workers, their relationship to the government is not mainly economic. Although a lot of money is put into the reserve through grants to the Band Council, most of the families are self supporting. The friction between the people of Akwesasne and the Government of Canada is essentially a cultural conflict, and largely centres on conflicting concepts of law and community control. These elements are no doubt present elsewhere, but in most Indian communities the extreme poverty has been the focus of most public attention and, to a large extent, the poverty factor has been a determining factor in the form and degree of cultural identity. The experience of Akwesasne gives us a view of the conflicts that elsewhere may be underlying the economic issues and will be all the more apparent should the economic problems be solved.

By Counselling Together

Two very critical background features of Akwesasne must be understood before we can properly explore the nature of the present relationship and some of the changes now going on. These features may appear to make Akwesasne almost unique. But in a country where the Queen's writ runs from sea to sea, they illustrate the differing concepts of law, and become a measure of the quality of justice available from the dominant system.

First, in the eyes of the people who live there — including those who do not appear to be very politically conscious — Akwesasne is one homogeneous community with a common territory and a common history. According to our laws, Akwesasne extends over three provincial and state jurisdictions — Ontario, Quebec and New York — and, in the Canadian sectors, the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is responsible for matters relating to the Indian Act. Cottagers renting land from the band pay taxes to several different municipal governments and only a nominal rent ($6.00 a year) to the Band Council.

Second, the people at Akwesasne have had their own law for about a thousand years. Anyone who wants to understand relations of individual Mohawks with Canadian law cannot discount this fact as a curious antiquity.

The Mohawk nation is a member of the League of Six Nations which the French called the Iroquois, an abbreviation for their own name, *Kai an erekowa*, or "The People of the Great Law". This Great Law was laid down by a man called the Peacemaker perhaps a thousand years ago.

It is different from the law with which we are familiar in that it is set down in positive terms, prescribing the duties of leaders and the proper forms of relationship between members of the clan and nation. It is, as several historians have pointed out, a law designed for a society in which everyone is related to everyone else, a closely knit community in which the individual must deal with the same people day after day, year after year. Conflicts of policy, for instance, are not to be resolved by majority vote but "by counselling together until everyone is of one mind."

The Great Law is also the constitution of a confederacy which kept the peace between previously warring nations. And when the fathers of the U.S. confederacy met in Albany in 1752 to design their constitution they consulted with the Six Nations to better understand the elements of both confederacy and direct democracy that were built into the Great Law.

Only about one-fifth of the people at Akwesasne have a formal affiliation with the Long House, the meeting place prescribed in the Great Law. But the most dynamic social action at Akwesasne during the past decade has sprung, one way or another, from the Long House. Sometimes the leadership came from people who grew up in the Long House, other times from those who joined in the course of their own cultural renewal, sometimes from those who learned to love the strength and depth of its laws without actually becoming members. I do not wish to underrate the difference in these three courses, or, for the moment, to make predictions about the future. But every renewal of the community life at Akwesasne has somehow meant a confrontation with Canadian authorities; and each source of strength for such renewal has been fed by the tradition of the Great Law.

Some of the older people still remember when, at the turn of the century, the Canadian government decided that the Long House chiefs should no longer govern. One man, John Ice, was shot by the RCMP and the chiefs were held in jail until, for the sake of their families, they agreed to abide by the government's Band Council.

Since then the vast majority of the people, even those who do not participate in the Long House, have mainly boycotted the council elections. Of course, under the imposed electoral system, that has not prevented the election of councils but instead has helped to determine their formation along lines highly susceptible to the influence of the Indian agent of the day.

The greatest internal division within the Reserve has often been characterized as Christian vs. Long House. But so long as the social services were run by the Catholic mission the Long House chiefs and the clergy collaborated successfully for over a century. The cleavage appeared only with the imposition by the Canadian government of an alien form of democracy, which was rightly understood as an assault on the last vestige of sovereignty of the Six Nations.

But the Long House remained. Its numbers declined from the shooting of John Ice at the turn of the century until the late '50's, when Akwesasne was again threatened — this time by the Seaway Authority's takeover of islands and farmland and the bridge right of way, for which full compensation has still not been received. Many of the young people "returned to the Long House" at that time and more have continued to come through the intervening years. Perhaps even more important, the numbers who usually participate in any program originating in the Long House — whether it is a social dance or reclaiming lost islands — always include a large proportion who are not formal members. As Jerry Gambill, the editor of *Akwesasne Notes* put it, "The Long House has never tricked any one. The Church has. The Government has. Many people from outside have."

Continuing Hostility of the Authorities

The Bridge Blockade and the reclaiming of Stanley Island and Loon Island last summer were dramatic and well publicized social actions with important legal implications.

These major cases are significant in their own right, but they are only a guide to the community's contact with Canadian law when lined up with a parallel track of incidents which, though far less dramatic, constantly reinforce tensions and suggest to every friend of the Mohawks the continuing hostility of the authorities.

Shortly before the Bridge Blockade trials were to begin one young Indian leader received a visit from an RCMP officer formerly stationed at St. Regis. He later told me that the officer had said:

"I don't think it's a good idea. I wouldn't recommend that you hire the Civil Liberties . . . these groups are a lot of crooked people who are more interested in seeing an explosive situation come about than handling the situation in court." "He actually said they were something like the Mafia," my Indian informant added.

At one point during the trials when people were reassembling after lunch a Cornwall police officer asked one of the accused for her name. She gave it, and then asked "Why?" "I just wanted to make sure you have a right to be here", the officer reportedly replied.

In 1956 the city of Cornwall passed a by-law annexing Cornwall Island, all of which is Reserve land. Although no other services were regularly supplied by the city, municipal police toured the Reserve periodically for two years. Then the city applied to the Minister of Indian Affairs for a grant in lieu of taxes to cover the cost of patrolling the Reserve. When this was not forthcoming, the patrols virtually ceased.

The validity of the annexation by-law was a major point of argument in the Bridge Blockade trials. The original charge against all 46 accused was that each one had "wilfully obstructed twenty-two police officers in the course of their duty." But only if the annexation by-law was valid would police officers commissioned by the city of Cornwall have authority on the island. A ruling on this question would also have affected the extent of authority of the Band Council to make by-laws for the portion of the Reserve within Ontario, a point essential to the federal government's official policy of local self-government for Indian Reserves. But no issues were decided; all the arguments of fact and law led only to the complete set of charges being dismissed for lack of evidence.

"Get back where you belong you wild animals" . . .

During the months following the trial, however, the Cornwall police resumed their patrols of the island. Sometimes they chased children from the public lawns near the Customs House. Sometimes they would enforce traffic by-laws, in competing authority with the Band Council. While nobody seems to have been arrested during these patrols, police authority did become more closely identified with white authority.

The patrols may have been partly motivated by requests from officers and staff at the Customs House who, according to stories told to me by teenage residents of the island, commonly chased them from the median strip with such cries as, "Get back where you belong you wild animals."

One boy complained that the janitor at the Customs House showed him a leather-covered stick when telling him to get away from the public phone from which the boy was trying to place a call.

But the authorities have forgotten that the Band Council resolution granting the right of way between the bridges also asked that no Customs House be placed on the island. And later, when it was built, an agreement was made that all maintenance work would be offered to island residents before any outside personnel were brought in. One of the first to remind me of the agreement was a father of six children whose land borders the seaway's fence but whose application for the janitor's job has been ignored.

. . . held without trial for as much as 40 days

When the Prévost Commission was inquiring into the Administration of Justice in Quebec in 1967, a brief was submitted from St. Regis pointing out that men had often been arrested for drunkenness while sleeping on their own lawns — and then held in the Valleyfield jail without trial for as much as 40 days. More recent versions of such complaints were repeated to me in the summer of 1969.

The Strange Language of the Courts

Valleyfield is the closest judicial centre in Quebec to Akwesasne. On the map it is 40 miles away. But as the law is applied there to Indians, 400 or 4,000 would be the same. It's true that the Indian is allowed to testify in English — or in Mohawk — if he asks for a translator. But asking may cost him a further week in jail waiting for the arrangements to be made. I have seen trials adjourned for lack of an English translator.

An Indian in a Valleyfield court without a lawyer has rarely, if ever, heard the testimony against him. He is the only one in court who cannot speak French. Even with a lawyer he often foregoes the privilege of hearing the evidence for the sake of a hasty decision.

Most of the cases I have investigated involved juveniles. In none of them were the parents notified of the charges against their child. One mother who was sitting in the hallway of the courthouse heard her son had been charged with an offence only when he was paged by the court clerk. Social workers advised me, before my first visit to Valleyfield, that unless an adult is present it is unlikely the judge will ask the juvenile if he is guilty.

The RCMP have a detachment of two officers at St. Regis. I once witnessed an interview in which a reporter asked the senior RCMP constable why the force would not send someone who is interested in working with Indians, and let him stay longer than the usual one-year tour.

"They always send single men and move you as soon as you get married," the constable said. "It's all right for the Indians to live here but you wouldn't want to bring your wife."

According to federal authorities, the RCMP are only supposed to act in matters under the Indian Act, notably the liquor provisions, and under other legislation enforced exclusively by federal police such as the Narcotics Act. The whole Criminal Code is left to the enforcement of the Valleyfield and Huntingdon detachments of the Quebec police force. This is the official reason why the RCMP will

not respond to an emergency call from a resident of the Reserve.

The RCMP, on the other hand, do more than just provide a federal presence. They have traditionally been expected to enforce Band Council decisions, because they are made pursuant to the Indian Act, and therefore to work alongside the Band Council administrator. So in any dispute between the Band Council, which has so little community support, and any other Indian, the council has this distinct advantage.

Last spring there were a number of complaints that indicated the RCMP were willing to intervene if the Band Council administrator was anxious that a case be settled quickly. Francis Jock's case is exemplary of both the RCMP at St. Regis and the Quebec authorities at Valleyfield.

Saturday, the 28th of March, 1970, was the day before Easter. According to reports, the windows of the Band Council office, the Catholic church and the home of the Band Council administrator were broken at about 3:00 a.m.

Francis Jock, a fisherman, 27 years old, says that he began babysitting for his neighbors John and Harriet Boots about 8:00 o'clock that morning so they could go to a meeting of the National Indian Brotherhood in Montreal. He also stayed with their children the previous night until 12:30, when he was replaced by someone else so that he might attend a meeting on the U.S. side of the Reserve which went on through the night making preparations for the next day's trip. The Boots and all the others at the meeting corroborate his story.

Shortly after 10:00 a.m. that morning the RCMP came to the door of the Boots' house and took Francis up the hill to their office, where they questioned him until the arrival of the Quebec police who took him to Valleyfield.

Two charges were laid against Francis Jock: one at the time of his arrest, and one when he next appeared in court a week later. The first charged him with creating public mischief

"Indian News"

by breaking windows. The second added, in addition to specifying a different location, "and endangering life." This clause raises the maximum sentence from 14 years to life. The first charge had him appearing in the criminal court. The second charge, which led to his being re-arrested when he was about to leave the criminal court, caused him to appear in the juvenile court. Both Francis and his mother say they had repeatedly stated his age to the authorities as 27 years.

Francis Jock says that before he was released from his first arrest late that Saturday night, in the custody of John Boots, he was asked by the police at Valleyfield to sign a statement. I asked him whether it was in French or English.

"I don't know. I don't read any language."

"Did anyone read it to you?"

"No."

"Do you know what was in the statement?"

"Well, later, somebody told me it was a confession."

In order for the court at Valleyfield to retain its jurisdiction over his case Francis had to appear before the judge every week. Because the lawyers at Valleyfield long ago lost the confidence of the Indians, it was necessary to bring a lawyer from Montreal. The counsel of choice asked for a month's adjournment until a day when he would be free to travel to Valleyfield. The Crown attorney agreed only on condition that the preliminary hearing be dispensed with. The purpose of a preliminary hearing is precisely to determine whether there is sufficient evidence to go to trial. And that was exactly the issue from the defence point of view.

Francis' case came up one more time after that exchange. This time he appeared before a visiting judge from Montreal, who asked in English,

"How many times have you had to come here?"

"Six."

"Nobody should have to come here that many times just to be heard," said the new judge. "You are free to go."

Francis Jock's case is different from the typical Mohawk experience at Valleyfield only in two respects. It combines a greater number of the standard ingredients of degradation. And it had a relatively happy ending because of outside intervention.

Of course, in many ways the trial is the punishment. Francis I travelled seven times to Valleyfield, a round-trip distance of 80 miles. Each time but the last, when we knew there would be an adjournment for lack of a translator, his family had to hire a car and bring the witnesses. Although he was able to set his nets before each trip to court he was not home to sell his catch.

The cost of Francis Jock's plea of not guilty very likely exceeded the fine he might have incurred if he had followed the advice of one Valleyfield lawyer and pleaded guilty, on a first offence.

"The best Indian is a white Indian" ...

Most of Francis' friends and witnesses thought he would not have been charged if he had not joined the Long House just shortly before the window-breaking incident occurred. Such a statement cannot easily be proved. But both the RCMP and the Quebec police have collaborated in fostering the same belief.

The same RCMP constable who explained to the reporter why postings to St. Regis are of such short duration also described the Long House as "a bunch of troublemakers."

During one of the weekly visits to Valleyfield, Francis' clan mother struck up a conversation with a Quebec police constable whom she had met previously. She was trying to explain how important it was to her that those in her clan respect the law and not create trouble, and that neither she nor the chiefs would ever condone the destruction of property.

The constable agreed and added, "We have a saying that the best Indian is a white Indian. The more they learn to live like us the better off they'll be."

It would clearly be an exaggeration to say there has been no change in the attitude of the law to the people at Akwesasne from the shooting of John Ice to the jailing of Francis Jock. But bureaucracy has succeeded in keeping progress on a very short tether until the people choose for themselves a course agreeable to the government.

Conflicting Views on a Local Police Force

Following the Band Council elections last June a faint glimmer of hope came onto the horizon of legal relations at Akwesasne. A majority of the new councillors were younger band members who had been involved in a variety of social action and community development projects. A new chief was elected. A new administrator appointed. And shortly after, two new RCMP constables were sent to St. Regis who were clearly more interested in community relations and the problems of under-occupied youth.

One of the many new programs that have come up for discussion since the election is a local police force, trained and regulated by the province but responsible to the Band Council much the same as any municipal police force.

The advocates of the program see it as the one solution to the variety of ills that beset Indian relations with the law. And in the simplest form it has perhaps the most widespread support ever received by a major proposal for change at Akwesasne. Almost all moderates at Akwesasne see this as a way of separating the image of police authority from that of "white authority" in the popular mind. Many who had regarded the Band Council as the tool of the Indian agent see this as one of a number of steps to secure substantial authority for the council, and to show that they will be best governed when they govern themselves.

The federal Department of Indian Affairs has expressed approval for the general idea. One member of the Department showed me a copy of a glowing report on the Mohawk police force at Caughnawaga in the *RCMP Quarterly* entitled, "A Step Forward". The chairmen of both the Ontario and Quebec police commissions have expressed interest in the idea.

But as discussion becomes more detailed the likelihood of a general solution recedes quickly into the distance, and the conflicting interests and aspirations of the various authorities continue to dominate decision-making and legal relations at Akwesasne.

The Indian Affairs Department is attracted to the idea as a step toward implementation of its Indian policy which includes eventual dissolution of the Reserve. They acknowledge that while they would be willing to contribute to the cost of a police force for the first few years, they would expect the Band Council to eventually pick up the cost normally borne by the municipality.

The Ontario Police Commission has sent a staff member to tour the reserve and estimate the personnel and equipment needs. But the estimates were based solely on servicing Cornwall Island. No thought seems to have been given to a joint agreement either with Quebec or New York, and so far Ontario sees the Mohawk constables as an arm of the Ontario Provincial Police.

Quebec alone is willing to see the force substantially under local control and to be empowered jointly by the three jurisdictions to enforce the law in each territory. When I talked to Judge Gosselin, chairman of the Quebec Police Commission, he stressed that the details of such a proposal would have to be negotiated between the different governments concerned. But he found such a proposal acceptable in principle.

Voices of the Long House

The Indian leaders, meanwhile, are divided and consequently unlikely to press any particular formula. The more conservative among them, feeling the need for proper law enforcement as a top priority, are willing to consider a formula along the lines acceptable to Ontario.

The moderates, agreeing with the need for proper law enforcement, see the chief value in a Mohawk police force in the potential for unity and autonomy. But such potential requires local control over the police, a common force for the whole community and a special court whose business would be to reconcile Indian law and Canadian law in deciding each case.

If an Indian constable had to haul a brother Indian before the courts in Cornwall or Valleyfield, many Indians feel this would be even worse than suffering the present white police. Reconciling the two concepts of law is not so much a matter of deciding rights and wrongs as it is of determining appropriate responses to misconduct. Any Mohawk with whom I have spoken who is conscious of his own people's legal customs is convinced that they have consistently shown a greater concern for reconciliation, reform and community well-being.

Moderate leaders also stress the need for laws protecting the Reserve from trespassers: hunters who endanger the lives of livestock and children; fishermen who present unfair competition on waters promised for the exclusive use of the Indians residing there; and white youth, from Cornwall and Massena, who simply cruise around the Reserve late at night.

The militants, by white categories anyway, are those who never put any faith in the Band Council to begin with and therefore have never expected any serious change from the new council. And perhaps they would agree themselves that they are militant in defence of their own Great Law. But in English they call themselves "the traditional people".

Most of the traditional people differ from the moderates on only one principle: any solution must be worked within the Long House under the Great Law. For this rigidity they have often been criticized. But as a group they are clearly the most law-abiding people in the vicinity by anyone's standards. They agree on the need to enforce just laws.

The traditionalists have, in the balance, it seems to me, two over-riding advantages.

First, they have the tacit support of most moderates who are no less concerned than they are to see the same traditions grow and flourish but who are willing to negotiate what they consider matters of detail. These include the form and structure of government but not the right to self-government and recognition of aboriginal rights.

Second, a practical consideration. Everyone in Akwesasne knows, what I said earlier, that the most dynamic social action and community development has sprung one way or another from the Long House. It is, I suppose, at least possible that that could change in the future. But any such change is going to have to begin by putting some respectable ammunition in the hands of the moderates. The basic goals on which there is a community consensus will have to be respected by the major powers surrounding Akwesasne. If you spend any real time with even the most moderate spokesman he will begin to tell you of the need to remove the white man's boundaries for his people. And those who have been willing to do the bidding of outside authority have had their chance since the council system first came in. □

(Mickey Posluns has been helpful to people of Akwesasne through many legal difficulties. He is now working with the National Indian Brotherhood. This article first appeared in the March-April issue of the Canadian Welfare, and is copyright 1971 by the Canadian Council on Social Development)

Utah Indians Victims Of Neglect

Ramparts®
August 1971

Jack Anderson

THEFT FROM UTE INDIANS: The Supreme Court recently agreed to hear a suit brought by 207 mixed-blood Ute Indians who are charging the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the First Security Bank of Salt Lake City with defrauding them of their shares of the tribal mineral estate. The case recalls Peter Minuet's purchase of Manhattan. A geologist at the University of Utah estimates one share of the tribal mineral rights to be worth $28,919.29; from 1961 until 1967 the 207 Utes sold their shares to white men for prices ranging from $30 and a car, to about $400.

The situation came about this way: In 1961, 490 mixed-blood Utes were "terminated" from federal control. This meant they were considered able to manage their own property and were separated from the rest of the tribe. (It also meant they lost hunting and fishing privileges on the reservation, free public health services, education services, real estate management services, and credit and finance services, water rights, and exemption from taxation of land.) The mineral estate on the Utes' Uintah and Ouray Reservation was to be held jointly by the terminated and the tribal Utes. The BIA established the Ute Distribution Corporation to hold the mineral lands, and each terminated Ute received 10 shares in the corporation which he was free to sell. The value of the mineral assets on the reservation is not precisely known, but the total oil in the Uintah and Duchesne counties—one-third of whose property the reservation occupies—is estimated to exceed 54,287,215 barrels. Because the Utes were ignorant of the value of their mineral rights and had no experience buying or selling stocks, the BIA appointed the First Security Bank of Salt Lake City as transfer agent to help them sell the stock according to procedure it had established. The BIA specified that the stock was first to be publicly offered for sale to Utes. If no one bought it, it might then be offered for sale at the same or a higher price to non-Indians. The First Security Bank was to advise the Utes that the value of their stock was undetermined, and discourage them from selling or mortgaging it. Each stock certificate contained a warning against selling the rights to the mineral estate.

It was alleged during court proceedings that the BIA and the First Security Bank helped the Utes protect their mineral rights in the following ways: One woman sold John Gale, an agent of the Bank, 3 of her 10 shares for about $350; Gale resold the stock later at a profit. The shares were never offered for sale to the Utes, and Gale did not tell the woman he intended to resell the stock, nor did he allow her to read the warning against sale appearing on the stock certificate. One terminated Ute, Melvin Reed, was arrested for drunkenness in Roosevelt, Utah. and brought before John Gale, who also was a justice of the peace. Gale first imposed a fine so high that Reed could not pay it, and later released Reed from jail when he agreed to sell his mineral stock. That same day an agent of Gale's came to Reed's home with a '59 Cadillac which he'd heard Reed wanted to buy. He took Reed for a drive, they had a few drinks, and Reed signed a blank document which later became an affidavit affirming he had received $6500 in cash for his stock.

The Bank's agents, who bought shares from the Utes, resold them, and persuaded the Indians to sign blank affidavits, used Bank facilities and personnel for their transactions. Moreover, the First Security Bank repeatedly received documents of transfer showing that stock sold had never been posted for sale for the Utes to see, or had subsequently been sold at a far lower price. The documents of transfer often came to the Bank on the stationary of auto dealers, suggesting the currency in which the Utes were being paid. On several occasions the First Security Bank refused to allow the Utes to see the warnings against sale on their stock certificates. When the Ute Distribution Corporation asked for a loan so that it might buy some of the stock offered for sale, the First Security Bank replied that UDC stock certificates would not be adequate collateral for a loan.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs acknowledged some "irregularities," but would not take any remedial action. The realty officer at the BIA's Uintah and Ouray Agency, which manages affairs on the Ute reservation, wrote the superintendent there, ". . . we could not help but note several irregularities, indicating that an advantage was being taken of some of the sellers; since, however, the seller furnished us with an affidavit or certified statement to the effect that he had received from the named non-Indian buyer the price he had asked, we did not feel it our responsibility to pursue the matter further." The BIA suggested in Congressional testimony in 1961 that it knew the possible value of the Utes' mineral rights, but it made no effort to inform the Utes. The director of resources for the Ute Tribe asked that the U.S. Geological Survey appraise the assets administered by the Ute Distribution Corporation; the government said the Survey didn't have the money to do so.

A federal district court in Utah found the United States and the First Security Bank liable to the Utes, and awarded the native Americans damages at $1500 per share. The federal Court of Appeals overturned the decision finding the U.S. not liable. It found the First Security Bank liable, but for greatly reduced charges, and it awarded no specific damages.

CEDAR CITY, Utah — An old Paiute legend explains, with simple Indian logic, the origin of the white and red races.

God had two sons. The elder, who was independent and self-reliant, became the father of the Indians. The younger was a cry baby always wanting everything he saw, and he became the father of the white people.

But it's no legend that the whites, wanting the water that makes life possible in Utah's harsh sagebrush country, took over the springs and streams where the proud Paiutes had lived for generations.

ONE OF THEIR tribesmen, a mystic named Wovoka, became a Messiah to the western tribes in the 1890s. He prophesied that a great flood would wipe out all the whites. The Indians would survive by climbing to the tops of the mountains, then would come down after the flood receded to claim their hunting grounds again.

Another Paiute, Old Posey, led the last Indian uprising against the United States. For eight years, his small Paiute war party tried to drive the white settlers out of the rugged, red mountains of southeastern Utah. He died in a cave of gunshot wounds in 1923.

Today, there is no fight left in the Paiutes. Only 1,200 Southern Paiutes still survive. Many of them live in rundown shanties and tarpaper shacks without water, lights or toilets. They have been so kicked around that the Paiute settlement in Cedar City is called "Dogtown" by their white neighbors.

"WE ARE ALL broken up — broken up thoughts, broken up ideas, broken up goals," mourned Clifford Jake, headman of the Paiutes' Indian Peaks band.

Certainly, the Paiutes are America's most depressed and deprived Indians. They are too few to wield political power, too poor to pay for legal advice.

The federal government, in a misguided effort to integrate the Paiutes into the white world, cut them off from federal benefits in 1956. Without birth certificates, Social Security numbers, or land deeds, they couldn't college welfare or negotiate loans. For that matter, they didn't even know how to qualify for hunting and fishing licenses to seek food in the mountains and streams of their forefathers.

AT THE SAME time the federal government emancipated the Paiutes, it declared they were unable to manage their own affairs and directed Salt Lake City's Walker Bank to sell their reservations.

The Indian Peaks Band, after the sale of their 10,000-acre reservation for $40,000, sent a delegation 260 miles to Salt Lake City to discuss their finances with the bank trustee. They couldn't understand his explanations, and after a few minutes, they were shown out of his office.

They had no more success with the lawyer whom the bank had retained in their behalf. "He is paid out of our land sales," said Jake, the headman. "He never has time to talk to us either."

THEY RECEIVED a letter from the lawyer stating they still owned the mineral rights on their reservation and suggesting they prospect for minerals.

"We don't know one stone from another," said Jake with a helpless shrug.

The Shivwits band's 27,000-acre reservation in the desert west of St. George, Utah, is so desolate that the bank couldn't find anyone who wanted to buy it.

WALKER BANK has collected about $7,000 from the Indian Peaks Band but a spokesman said the bank has shelled out about $10,000 of its own money to help the Shivwits.

Part of the money was spent to seek oil on the reservation.

We visited the Cedar City settlement and the Shivwits reservation. The Paiutes in Cedar City live on a bleak, 47-acre tract donated for their use by the Mormon Church. More than 100 Paiutes are crowded into 17 shanties. Only two have inside toilets, one of which spills upon the open ground. Only one has heated water; five families have to borrow water in buckets from their neighbors. There is no water, of course, for lawns.

The Indian settlement, ironically, is squeezed between a well-watered golf course, a brightly lit ball park and a modern housing development. Although the Indians live within the city limits, their streets are the only residential roads still unpaved.

ABOUT 50 SHIVWITS subsist in broken-down shacks on their dry, desolate reservation. Nothing grows in the pale, reddish soil except sagebrush and scrub cedar trees. An electric line and water main run across their property, but they can't afford the cost of tapping to them. Most have no light at all at night and haul their water in rusty old drums from St. George 12 miles away.

The surviving Paiutes, indeed, look like the Last of the Paiutes. But unlike James Fenimore Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans," the Paiutes are victims not of battle but neglect. The Paiute children, Jake told us sadly, don't even speak their native tongue anymore.

But the old-timers still remember, as they chant an old Paiute mountain song. With their hands held ceremoniously over their eyes, they sing:

"The mountain is my home. When a little boy, I played there. Indians fished there and shot deer for food. But a stranger came and took my home from me. Now I can't hunt there. I can't fish there When I look at the mountain and see the stranger, I feel sick. That no more is my home, my mountain home, so I close my eyes so I cannot see."

WHO'S WHO IN INDIAN AFFAIRS

John S. Boyden: Counsel to Hopi Tribal Council

John S. Boyden: Scheduled to receive $1,000,000 for Hopi legal services

John S. Boyden: Chairman, Utah State Indian Affairs Commission

John S. Boyden: Attorney for Ute Distribution Corporation

John S. Boyden: defendant (with State of Utah and others) in civil action suit by Aneth Extension Navajos charging maladministration of oil royalties fund

John S. Boyden: Bishop, Mormon Church, Yale Second Ward

(from the Street Paper, Salt Lake City, Utah)

(from the Book of Mormon, II Nephi, Chapter 5)
describing American Indians, called
here, Lamanites

21. And he had caused the cursing to come upon them, yea, even a sore cursing, because of their iniquity. For behold, they had hardened their hearts against him, that they had become like unto flint; wherefore, as they were white, and exceeding fair and delightsome, that they might not be enticing unto my people the Lord God did cause a skin of blackness to come upon them.

22. And thus saith the Lord God: I will cause that they shall be loathsome unto my people, save they shall repent of their iniquities.

23. And cursed shall be the seed of him that mixeth with their seed; for they shall be cursed even with the same cursing. And the Lord spake, and it was done.

24. And because of their cursing which was upon them, they did become an idle people, full of mischief, and subtlety, and did seek in the wilderness for beasts of prey.

Americans Before Columbus

$1.00 per year – Regular membership to NIYC and subscription to ABC and other publications, free to Indian students

$5.00 per year – Associate membership for non-Indians interested in supporting NIYC, includes subscription to ABC and other publications.

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UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Intermountain School
Brigham City, Utah

February 18, 1971

Memorandum

To: All Supervisors

From: Acting School Superintendent

Subject: Current Information on Emergency Priorities
In an effort to continue to keep staff informed and to review certain campus procedures, the following information is submitted. You are requested to share this information with all staff members with whom you work.

Emergency Priorities Agreed Upon at Superintendent's Meeting on February 10, 1971

Remain alert and be prepared for emergencies. Know what to do in case of a blackout or other emergency. Encourage staff members to attend evening activities and mingle with the students. Have generator ready to be turned on for emergency power. Be familiar with location of new battery-powered units which have been installed. Have an electrician alerted.

Review and Update Emergency Procedures for Intermountain School

A meeting will be held for this purpose on Thursday morning, February 18, 1971.

Obtain and Present Accurate Information on Organizations and Events

Obtain and present accurate information on such organization as NIYC (National Indian Youth Council). Such information has been given to Branch Heads and religious leaders.

Talk with staff and students in classes, in homerooms and in dormitories. Help staff and students to understand both sides of any situation.

Procedures to be Followed by All Visitors Coming on Campus to See Students or Employees Who Are on Duty

All visitors are to check in either at Building 1 or the Guidance Center. They will tell (1) who they are, (2) whom they wish to visit, (3) what their relationship is to the student or students, and (4) the purpose of their visit. These procedures may be relaxed for visitors who are identified as members of a student's family.

Procedures to be Followed in Case of a SERIOUS EMERGENCY

Follow directions in the updated EMERGENCY PROCEDURES. Assistance from law officers will be given in the following order:

1. Brigham City Police
2. Sheriff's Department
3. National Guard (when called by Brigham City officials)
4. U. S. Marshall.

The FBI would become involved in case of destruction of government property.

Information on Demonstrations

The Field Solicitor of the Department of the Interior informs us that there are no requirements as to either granting or refusing permission to students wanting to stage peaceful demonstrations. The staff should, of course, keep every avenue of communication open and avoid creating feelings of need among students for any such alleviating behavior as demonstrating. Reasonable dialogue and counseling for understanding both sides of a situation are urgently needed.

Demonstrations other than peaceful and orderly would be considered instances of "unlawful assembly" and the only recourse to avoid danger and damage would be through the local police officers. The preceding statement pertains to students and other lawful inhabitants of the campus. Outsiders who come either singly or in groups, with the intent of inciting disorder, are guilty of trespass if they refuse to leave when asked to do so.

Brigham City ordinances would require that a demonstration along the streets of the city be allowed only upon being granted a parade permit by the Chief of Police. These permits include instructions as to time, route, and lawful purposes. An unruly and uncontrolled demonstration would be deemed to be also an "unlawful assembly" and police measures would be implemented against it.

Since Intermountain School is within the city limits of Brigham, it is our desire that the same requirements for a demonstration on campus pertain as for one on any other street in Brigham. We shall soon have a ruling on this from the City Attorney.

Information Relayed by the Navajo Area Director

If hard-and-fast evidence is obtained of any employee agitating students to demonstrate or riot, they will be separated immediately with all rights of appeal. No one is to move precipitously in this regard, but any such evidence gathered should be directed to the office of the school superintendent.

Faralie S. Spell
Acting School Superintendent

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bert Tallsalt, Guidance Counselor DATE: April 26, 1971
Through: Dickson Smith, Supervisory Guidance Counselor

FROM : Mr. Sherman L. Nay, Supervisory Guidance Counselor

SUBJECT: Improper Use of Telephone

Several times in the past few days attempts have been made to contact Instructional Aids in building 39. Students have answered with the response, "Jail House." This, of course, is discourteous and presents a low image of the staff and students in building 39.

Student attitudes such as these are often reflections of staff attitude and certainly indicates a need for the staff to work with students in this area.

Will you make arrangements for building 39 staff to get the help they need.

Sherman L. Nay
Supervisory Guidance Counselor

Martial Law At Intermountain

EDITORIAL

SAME LIES, DIFFERENT WORDS

The Navajo students in the NIYC chapter at Intermountain School have filed a law suit in federal court against the school.

Since the voicing of complaints by Indian students and Indian employees over one year ago, harassment by the white officials at the school has taken many forms. Students were called communist to their faces, visited in their room at night by white officials who interrogated them relentlessly about NIYC and the student council was coached to tell the world how wonderful Intermountain and Brigham City was. In no other government agency but B.I.A. could anyone get away with this sort of activity.

Since the filing of the suit this harassment has intensified. Teachers use their classroom periods to lecture against NIYC and the suit, they have used the press and television to denouce the NIYC, they even induce the president of the student body to denouce the Indian employees as lazy and inferior to the white employees before an audience at Indian week at Utah State University.

Thomas O. Parker, Solicitor for the Interior Department has seen fit to go on television twice to denounce the suit. Mr. Parker has even drawn up a petition denouncing the suit which was passed among the students for their signatures. NIYC has asked Interior for his removal because he, as a lawyer and a defendant, has violated the legal code of ethics.

The white officials claim the students are under evil outside influence. This attitude shows how racist they really are in that they believe the Navajos (students) and employees are incapable of speaking out on their own.

On March 28, NIYC officials and Evelyn Reeder, vice president of the NIYC chapter at Intermountain testified before Senators Kennedy and Mondale in the Senate Sub-committee on Indian Education on conditions at the school.

Senator Kennedy termed Miss Reeder's testimony "one of the most cruel indictments of the B.I.A. boarding school system I have heard." Earlier, Commissioner Bruce had testified before the same hearings and was asked questions about Intermountain by the Senators. He promised to "clean up the situation within a week." This is what top B.I.A. officials told NIYC one year ago and nothing happened. It seems that they deliberately let people suffer. Who can believe them now? Is Kennedy right that B.I.A. is incapable of running the Indian educational system?

B.I.A. is saying all the right things now. They have however not acted. Without action should we consider the new B.I.A. vocabulary an improvement over the past when they were verbally condescending to us?

Indian people must act. NIYC urges all fair minded people to send a letter or telegram to Rogers Morton, Secretary, Interior and Commissioner Bruce supporting the students at Intermountain. Also a letter of support to Teddy Austin, president, the NIYC Intermountain chapter would be extremely helpful.

If we do not direct our future, the B.I.A. will misdirect it.

Sights For Already Sore Eyes

- Mr. Lopez, Chicano principal of the Robert F. Kennedy High School in San Juan Pueblo after being confronted with a walk-out of about 20 Indian students stating, "I may have handled this situation badly, but this is really the first time I have ever dealt with a minority group .
- The University of Oklahoma, the largest university in the states with the second largest Indian population, giving the International Students $3,000 and the Pakistani Club $1,500 to operate on for 1970-71, while they gave the Indian students only $250.
- In 1970 at Indian Week the Administration of Intermountain Indian School in Brigham City, Utah bringing in an African Dance Troop in as the main attraction.
- Also at the 1970 Veterans Day at Intermountain, a Navajo student being criticized by a white administrator because on the program she told in story of Ira Hayes, Indian winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor; in Navajo, instead of English.
- At the University of New Mexico, a professor teaching an English culture class soliciting 5 Indian girls to dress up in Navajo costumes and appear before his class; "I can probably pass the hat and get you five dollars a piece", he stated. He was told to go to hell and didn't understand why.
- Twentieth Century Fox hiring a Japanese Actor to play Crazy Horse in an upcoming movie. NIYC protested that at least an Indian should be hired to play Sitting Bull. The president of FOX replied he had to hire another Japanese for that part "so that the two would match".

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SCHOOL DAYS

Intermountain School

BIA School Target of Severe Criticism

By Frye Gaillard

As you follow U. S. Highway 89 into the town of Brigham City, Utah, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Intermountain Boarding School is on your right—a massive institution, surrounded by a ten-foot chain-link fence and looking very much like the military facility that it used to be. Visitors to the school are supposed to check in at Building 1, the administrative center, but during the slack summer period, you can avoid doing that if you want to and can proceed directly to the classroom buildings or dormitories where a handful of teachers and students may be only too happy to tell you about conditions at the school.

It is quite posible that they will take you to the Intermountain library where you can find a BIA pamphlet entitled "Questions Commonly Asked About Intermountain School." One of the questions concerns the difference between Intermountain and everyday public high schools, and many students and Indian employes at Intermountan find the answer striking.

> *"The essential difference," says the pamphlet, "is that public schools have the task of preserving the prevailing customs of our society, namely the same language, same costume, same diet, housing, social customs and civic responsibilities. The task of the Intermountain school is to change language, change diet, costume, housing, manners, customs, vocations and civic duties. Changing people's habits and outlooks is one of the most complex tasks in human affairs."*

Implicit in this objective, many Indians feel, is a clear lack of appreciation of the culture and a way of life of the Navajos, whom the school serves exclusively. And there is considerable evidence that throughout Intermountain's history, and particularly in recent times, this lack of appreciation has extended to the Indians themselves and has approached a denial of the humanity of the students in grades 1-12 who attend the school, and of the Indian employes who work there.

When the BIA's new education director, James Hawkins, conceded in May that the Navajos might be better off if the school were closed down, he was acknowledging, something that many Navajos have believed for a long time.

To begin with, Intermountain is nearly 700 miles from the Navajo capital at Window Rock, Ariz. Students are bused to the school in the fall, bused home again at Christmas bused back after the holidays, and then back home again for the summer. The cost of all this is considerable, and the result is a racially segregated educational institution in which the students lose both the benefit of association with children of other races and the social and cultural support of living in their own communities.

And many of them, like Jody Allen, find Brigham City not only different, but hostile. Jody arrived at Intermountain as a junior high school student. He graduated this year. "It did not take me long," he says with slightly broken English, "to learn that something was bad wrong with this Intermountain place." One of the first things he noticed was that his teachers spoke no Navajo at all, which was a problem because he spoke very little English. He was able to communicate with some of his instructional aides, but even that was difficult because the speaking of Navajo was a punishable offense in those days—both among the students and the aides.

He says there were a number of minor, though very painful, annoyances such as the time he was sitting in class, desperately needing to go to the bathroom, but not being able to communicate the fact to his teacher because his English wasn't good enough yet. But even more discouraging was the fact that he missed a large part of what was taught him in class in those early years, and he was not alone. Most of the students who come to Intermountain have language barriers when they arrive, and the teaching staff is too culturally deprived to do much about it.

But the students' problems do not stop there.

"I remember the first time I was put in jail," says Jody Allen. "I was getting ready to leave the dormitory when my instructional aide asked me to clean my room. I said, 'Man, I would like to clean it when I get back.' But he said, 'Nothing doing,' and he followed me down to the bathroom demanding that I clean the room. When I refused, he hit me and split open my eye. I started to fight back, and some of my friends tried to help me, but they broke us up and put me in jail.'

Another time, Allen says, he came back to campus after purchasing some hair cream at a nearby drug store. His instructional aide (not the one from the previous altercation) insisted on seeing a cash register receipt, and when he failed to produce one, the aide had him jailed on a shoplifting charge.

"And one time after that," Jody continues, "I went AWOL with some friends, and we climbed the mountain behind the school and bought some beer. They caught us, and although we were not drunk, they jailed us because we were underaged. I was 16 then, and the school supported the jailing. These white people who run the school, they always support the jailing of Indian students."

> *Intermountain's supervisory guidance counselor, Sherman Nay, does not see it quite that way. "Yes, some of our young people have been jailed," he says, "just like young people have been jailed in a lot of other places. The Indian kids are no different. When they are jailed, we send a counselor down to be with them. Usually you'll find it's just a misdemeanor charge, and we try to work out a short sentence. We have a good working relationship with the judge, and we try to arrange it so the kids will miss as little class time as possible. If it's a first offense, usually they will be let off entirely. On the second or third time, a short jail sentence—maybe over the weekend for two or three days, or maybe up to five days—is usually arranged."*

Some students who have been jailed don't see the school's role as even that benign. But that may be simply a matter of perspective. What is clear is that an inordinate number of Navajo students are accumulating jail records in Brigham City and unfavorable discipline files at Intermountain.

For example, on a typical weekend in the 1970 school year (as it happened, the weekend of Saturday, May 16), Intermountain records show that seven students were jailed for possession of alcoholic beverages. Three of those jailed were 18; two were 19 and two were 20. There is no record of their causing any disturbance, or even being intoxicated, but they were underaged. The legal age in Brigham City is 21, although if you are a student at Intermountain you can't legally buy liquor or wine or beer at any age.

Intermountain did not try to help the seven jailed students obtain legal counsel. It never does. What it did do, however, was make a record of the arrests to be placed in the permanent file of each student—a file that can be shown to future employers or to future educational institutions that the students may want to attend.

In addition, on that same weekend, 32 other Intermountain students had their permanent records marred by the entry of unfavorable information. School files duly record that seven students were sniffing glue or spray paint, six went AWOL (Intermountain's official term for leaving campus without permission), and 19 were drinking.

> *There is no record of unruly conduct or clashes between students and Intermountain guidance personnel for the weekend of May 16, but such clashes do occur. And Mrs. Rosa Naranjo, a social studies teacher at the school, is among those who contend that the guidance personnel are often at fault. "Most of the guidance people, like most of the teachers, are non-Indians," she explains. "If the school would hire more Navajo guidance personnel, then they could talk to the Navajo kids in Navajo and calm them down when they are drunk. But the white instructional aides tend to push the kids around, and that makes them mad. And one thing about most of these Navajos—they are not afraid to fight back."*

The Intermountain Indian school, located in Brigham City, Utah, nearly 700 miles from the vast Navajo reservation that it serves, has been the target of severe criticism in recent years. Frye Gaillard first began gathering information on the school last November. He resumed research in May, and this summer he traveled the backroads of the Navajo reservation, talking to Intermountain students and parents. He also visited the school where he talked with teachers and instructional aides, and he obtained access to some of Intermountain's files, and to the files of Amerind, Inc., the National Indian Youth Council, and DNA Legal Services—all of them Indian organizations that have spent several years documenting problems at the school. In addition, he talked with Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and with administrators at Intermountain. The story that appears here is the first of a two-part series based on his research.

The fights are usually one-sided, and the Navajos usually fare badly—primarily because the white administrators are able to call upon superior weaponry, such as handcuffs, a powerful tranquilizing drug known as Thorazine, and the threat of such humiliating punishment as head-shaving.

"Several employees have secured handcuffs to use in connection with controlling students who are intoxicated and belligerent," said guidance supervisor Sherman Nay in a memorandum to his staff March 31, 1970. "The use of handcuffs is authorized, but employees are cautioned to use them with discretion." Nay did urge the staff to be "as gentle as possible," and he ordered that handcuffs be used only "when other means of control are not practical."

How well the staff has abided by Nay's instructions is an open question, but some students who were handcuffed say the experience was very painful indeed. "It should be pretty damn obvious," contended one student angrily, "that any instructional aide who can't control his students without handcuffing them is not the sort of person who is likely to practice much restraint. There just isn't any way to be humane when what you are talking about is handcuffing kids."

And Lehman Brightman, an Indian civil rights leader from California, told a Senate subcommittee earlier this year that when he visited Intermountain, he found Navajo young people whose wrists are permanently scarred by the use of handcuffs.

Gradually, however, handcuffing appears to have been supplanted by the use of Thorazine. Tom Oxendine, a spokesman for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, contends the drug is employed only when a student is a danger to himself or the people around him. Oxendine also maintains that the drug is always administered by qualified medical personnel under a carefully scrutinized program, approved by the Indian Health Service of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

> *But the* Physicians Desk Reference, *the standard pharmaceutical guide used by nearly all doctors and based largely on information supplied by the drug manufacturers, offers information that raises questions about the Health Service approval. On page 1,223, the guide lists among conditions under which the use of Thorazine is inadvisable: "the presence of large amounts of Central Nervous System Depressants [such as] alcohol, barbiturates, narcotics, etc." The desk reference also says explicitly, "the use of alcohol with this drug should be avoided," and it explains that Thorazine "prolongs and intensifies the action of C.N.S. depressants." It cautions, in addition, that Thorazine—because it is so powerful—is an extremely dangerous drug if misused.*

On top of that, some Intermountain students maintain that Thorazine is often used on Navajo young people who are not particularly unruly. "Yes, I have some friends who were drugged with Thorazine," says Evelyn Reeder, who graduated first in her class this year. "Some of them were unruly, some weren't."

Perhaps the most serious and humiliating punishment yet devised at Intermountain, however, has been the practice of head-shaving. School rules require very short haircuts to begin with, and this is traumatic enough for some students. Traditional Navajo hairstyles are long, and many Intermountain students have regarded these styles as an integral part of their culture. Others have not, but the point is that on the reservation the choice is up to them. At Intermountain, it is not.

In addition to the routine haircutting, however, students who (in the judgment of their supervisors) misbehave have often had their hair shaved off at the scalpline —a process which the Intermountain chapter of the National Indian Youth Council sees as alarmingly analogous to scalping. Some sympathetic Indian employees at Intermountain have taken photographs of the head-shaving, and every student interviewed by RRIC was able to list dozens of classmates who were victimized by it.

In March of 1970, Intermountain instructional aide Leonard C. Brown gave this notarized account of one particular head-shaving: "Eddie Livingston [a student] stated that just a week after Christmas when he was coming back from building 328, a boy met him and told him to see Mr. Charles Helseth, instructional aide, immediately. When Eddie got to the building, he was ordered to go to the barber shop in building 44. Mr. Barnett started the cutting, then one of the students, Anderson Toledo, was told to finish what was left on Eddie's head. Since then he [Eddie] attended all classes but refused to go to the dining room for seven days. For the same reason we have some boys AWOL. I don't think this is right in the

Hornor Dorm."

Mrs. Emma Delgarito, an Intermountain instructional aide (who was named Indian Woman of the Year in 1970 by the National Indian Youth Council), explains that many Navajo young people are shy to begin with, "and when they cut their hair off, it is too much for many of them to bear. . . . Some kids cut class. Others go AWOL. And when they do that, sometimes they wind up in jail."

In 1965, one Intermountain student who wound up in jail never came out. Boyd Tsosie Jr., who was 18 at the time, hung himself in his cell with his sweater. Police officials said Tsosie had received "medical attention" at the Intermountain medical center before he was brought in on a charge of being drunk. They told the *Box Elder News*, a Brigham City newspaper, that Tsosie was first seen "lying down and writhing about which is not unusual in such cases." Thirty minutes later, he was dead.

In the context of Intermountain's other problems, many students remember the incident bitterly. But bitterness toward the school is not universal among the young people who attend it, which surprises some observers familiar with its reputation.

"Yes, I am a graduate of Intermountain," says Pearl Hale, a young Navajo girl who now lives near Gallup, N. M. "What did I think of the school? Well, there are good and bad things about every school, but I think basically it helped me." Reconciling these kinds of comments with the criticisms made of the school has been difficult for many people who have attempted to examine conditions there. But if you talk to Pearl Hale a little longer, the pieces begin to fit together.

When asked point blank what she thought of the rules under which students are compelled to live, Pearl conceded that she found them annoying, often difficult to adjust to, and in some cases downright capricious. She said for example, that she did not like the fact that mail is sometimes opened and inspected by the guidance staff before it is handed out, or the fact that it is distributed only at certain specified times and never on weekends.

Miss Hale says she also did not like the time the principal's wife threw her in the shower just before she was supposed to go out on a date. "Mrs. Kapps ordered me to scrub the shower and bathroom just before I went out," she recalled. "I told her I didn't want to because I had a date and I was ready to go out. So she turned on the water of one of the showers and pushed me under. And then she said, 'There, I guess you are not ready to go out now.' I was very mad, and I pulled her under with me."

The point is that Pearl Hale, whose basic evaluation of Intermountain is positive, is able to cite examples of brutality and senselessness that affected her directly. "A lot of these students don't have anything really to compare Intermountain to," points out Gerald Wilkinson, the executive director of the National Indian Youth Council. "They experience these things at Intermountain, but they think that's just the way schools are.

Dan Press, a white attorney for the Navajos DNA legal services agency, agrees. "This is the most frustrating case I have ever worked on," he says, "because at Intermountain they have an incredibly effective interlocking system of repression, intimidation and thought control." Press says he too has been "hung up" at times by the fact that some students continue to praise the school, but he says he has decided that there have been too many complaints of brutality and discrimination, too many official charges and sworn statements, and too much incontestable documentation for him to believe that Intermountain is not beset with severe problems.

It would be a mistake, however, to conceive of the problems solely in terms of physical brutality. Evelyn Reeder, who graduated this year, says her biggest objection to the school was that it didn't teach her anything.

Evelyn is not the only student to complain that course offerings are not challenging enough, but there may be some legitimate problems there. The range of academic achievement is extraordinarily broad, and some teachers say that if courses were made difficult enough to challenge students like Miss Reeder, then slower learners would be left behind.

But Mrs. Rosa Naranjo and a few other teachers believe there are other less legitimate problems. "There are 18 teachers in the social studies department," she says. "Of those, 13 are Mormons and only three are Indians. Most of the teachers bring a very white perspective to their courses, and the textbooks have the same perspective. The result is that the students don't begin to develop a full understanding or appreciation of who they are."

One of the books used by the school is called *Your Country's Story*, published by Ginn and Company. The cover depicts a wagon train crossing Indian territory, and on the title page is a white pioneer holding a rifle. The first chapter is entitled, "Europeans Added a New World to Their Maps," and in the chapter on westward expansion, Indians are discussed only as a threat to the brave pioneers. For example, on page 163 the book reports that, "the area between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River was fertile, but many hostile Indians lived there."

Course outlines for the 1970-71 school year call for more attention to Indian history and culture, but as Mrs. Naranjo points out, "we have the same white teachers and the same white-washed textbooks." She says she is skeptical of how much change there will be until more Indian teachers are hired, and she maintains there has long been a pattern of discrimination in Intermountain's hiring practices.

One Indian who was definitely not discriminated against, however, was Miss Wilma Victor, a Choctaw from Oklahoma, who was Intermountain's superintendent during the 1960's when controversy over the school began to mount. The outcry peaked in the spring of 1970, and Miss Victor was removed. But to the dismay of her critics, she was promoted to acting director of education for the entire Bureau of Indian Affairs.

She held the post for several months, and then in November of 1970, she was transferred to the BIA's area office in Phoenix, Ariz. She headed the education program there until last March when Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton selected her to be his special assistant on Indian affairs. Her job is now to advise him about the implementation of the government's entire Indian police and about the overall operation of the BIA.

Miss Victor told RRIC several months ago that the charges against Intermountain were "not true at all," and she attributed them to "a group of people who say they speak for Indians but who don't come from an Indian background." She says she does not take such criticisms personally and added, "I have a long record as an educator, and when you get to be my age you just say 'there is my reputation, take your shots at it.' "

Many people have done just that, and they regard Miss Victor's promotion as bitter proof that the government is indifferent.

"The children search everywhere for something, they grasp most hungrily at any attention shown them, or to any straw that might offer some escape from the boredom. You can't help but see it on the faces when you visit the dorms of the younger children. At the older boys' dormitories, they are used to the conditions, you can see that too. They no longer expect anything meaningful from anyone."

– from a letter to the late Senator Robert Kennedy following his subcommittee's investigation of one boarding school.

If you don't like it, do something about it.

IT'S BOARDING SCHOOL TIME AGAIN

MOTHERS!
FATHERS!

How many children are we wasting?

AND WHEN WILL WE STOP?

EVEN THE LITTLE ANTS WHICH LIVE IN THE EARTH LOVE THEIR YOUNG ONES AND WISH TO HAVE THEM IN THEIR HOMES.

SURELY US RED MEN ARE NOT SMALLER THAN THESE ANTS.

–Cree Chief StarBlanket, 1912

Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee

BY DEE BROWN

(From BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE by Dee Brown. Copyright © 1970 by Dee Brown. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.)

IT BEGAN with Christopher Columbus, who gave the people the name Indios.

"So tractable, so peaceable, are these people," Columbus wrote to the King and Queen of Spain, "that I swear to your Majesties there is not in the world a better nation. They love their neighbors as themselves, and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy."

Columbus kidnaped 10 of his friendly Taino hosts and carried them off to Spain, where they would be introduced to the white man's ways. Whole tribes were destroyed by gold-hungry Spaniards in less than a decade after Columbus set foot on the beach of San Salvador, Oct. 12, 1492.

The English used subtler methods. To insure peace at Jamestown, they put a golden crown upon the head of Wahunsonacook, dubbed him King Powhatan, and convinced him that he should put his people to work supplying the white settlers with food. Wahunsonacook vacillated between loyalty to his rebellious subjects and to the English, but after John Rolfe married his daughter, Pocahontas, he apparently decided that he was more English than Indian. After Wahunsonacook died, the Powhatans rose up in revenge but they underestimated the power of English weapons. In a short time the 8,000 Powhatans were reduced to less than a thousand.

IN MASSACHUSETTS the story began somewhat differently but ended virtually the same as in Virginia. After the Englishmen landed at Plymouth in 1620, most of them probably would have starved to death but for aid received from friendly natives of the New World. A Pemaquid named Samoset and other Indians regarded the Plymouth colonists as helpless children; they shared corn with them from the tribal stores, showed them how to catch fish, and got them through the first winter.

In 1625 some of the colonists asked Samoset to give them 12,000 additional acres of Pemaquid land. Samoset knew that land came from the Great Spirit, was as endless as the sky, and belonged to no man. To humor these strangers he went through a ceremony of transferring the land and made his mark on a paper for them. It was the first deed of Indian land to English colonists.

When the Dutch came to Manhattan Island, Peter Minuit purchased it for 60 guilders in fishhooks and glass beads, but encouraged the Indians to remain and continue exchanging their valuable peltries for such trinkets. In 1641, Willem Kieft levied tribute upon the Mahicans and sent soldiers to Staten Island to punish the Raritans for offenses which had been committed not by them but by white settlers. The Raritans resisted arrest, and the soldiers killed four of them. When the Indians retaliated by killing four Dutchmen, Kieft ordered the massacre of two entire villages while the inhabitants slept. The Dutch soldiers ran their bayonets through men, women, and children, hacked their bodies to pieces, and then leveled the villages with fire.

For two more centuries these events were repeated as the European colonists moved inland through the passes of the Alleghenies and down the westward-flowing rivers to the Great Waters (the Mississippi) and then up the Great Muddy (the Missouri).

IN 1829, Andrew Jackson, who was called Sharp Knife by the Indians, took office as President of the United States. In Sharp Knife's first message to his Congress, he recommended that all these Indians be removed westward beyond the Mississippi. "I suggest the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi . . . to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes, as long as they shall occupy it." On May 28, 1830, Sharp Knife's recommendations became law.

Two years later he appointed a commissioner of Indian affairs to serve in the War Department and see that the new laws affecting Indians were properly carried out. And then on June 30, 1834, Congress passed An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes and to Preserve Peace on the Frontiers. All that part of the United States west of the Mississippi "and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana or the Territory of Arkansas" would be Indian country. No white persons would be permitted to trade in the Indian country without a license. No white traders of bad character would be permitted to reside in Indian country. No white persons would be permitted to settle in the Indian country. The military force of the United States would be employed in the apprehension of any white person who was found in violation of provisions of the act.

Before these laws could be put into effect, a new wave of white settlers swept westward and formed the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa. This made it necessary for the policy makers in Washington to shift the "permanent Indian frontier" from the Mississsippi River to the 95th meridian. (This line ran from Lake of the Woods on what is now the Minnesota-Canada border, slicing southward through what are now the states of Minnesota and Iowa, and then along the western borders of Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana, to Galveston Bay, Texas.)

To keep the Indians beyond the 95th meridian and to prevent unauthorized white men from crossing it, soldiers were garrisoned in a series of military posts that ran southward from Fort Snelling on the Mississippi River to Fort Jesup in Louisiana.

In 1848 gold was discovered in California. Within a few months, fortune-seeking easterners by the thousands were crossing the Indian Territory. To justify these breaches of the "permanent Indian frontier," the policy makers in Washington invented Manifest Destiny, a term which lifted land hunger to a lofty plane. The Europeans and their descendants were ordained by destiny to rule all of America.

And so only a quarter of a century after enactment of Sharp Knife Andrew Jackson's Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, white settlers had driven in both the north and south flanks of the 95th meridian line, and advance elements of white miner and traders had penetrated the center.

In 1860 there were probably 300,000 Indians in the United States and Territories, most of them living west of the Mississippi. According to varying estimates, their numbers had been reduced by one-half to two-thirds since the arrival of the first settlers in Virginia and New England.

Most of the Indians would be driven into the ground long before the symbolic end of Indian freedom came at Wounded Knee in December, 1890. Now a century later, in an age without heroes, they are perhaps the most heroic of all Americans.

The Long Walk of the Navahos

Manuelito and other Navaho leaders made treaties with the Americans. "Then the soldiers built the fort here (in New Mexico)," Manuelito remembered, "and gave us an agent who advised us to behave well. He told us to live peaceably with the whites: to keep our promises. They wrote down the promises, so that we would always remember them."

Spotted Tail, chief of the Brule Sioux.

In the 1850s the Americans built Fort Defiance in the Navaho country and put their horses out to graze on pastureland long prized by Manuelito and his people. The soldier chief ordered the Navahos to keep their animals away. Because there was no fencing, the Navahos could not prevent their livestock from straying. One morning a company of mounted soldiers rode out of the fort and shot all the animals belonging to the Navahos.

The Navahos raided the soldiers' herds and supply trains and eventually attacked Fort Defiance. The United States Army considered the attack an act of war. Six companies of cavalry and nine of infantry scoured the Chuska Mountains in search of Manuelito's hostiles. By the end of 1860 both sides grew weary of the foolish game. After a winter meeting, there were several months of friendship between the soldiers and the Navahos.

IN THE SPRING of 1862, however, more Bluecoats came marching into New Mexico from the West. Their Gen. James Carleton wore stars on his shoulders and was more powerful than the Eagle Chief, Kit Carson the Rope Thrower, Bluecoats the Indians had dealt with often before.

The Navahos soon learned that Star Chief Carleton had a great hunger for their land and whatever metal wealth might be hidden under it. Carleton began looking about for Indians to fight. In September 1862 he sent out an order: "There is to be no council held with the Indians, nor any talks. The men are to be slain whenever and wherever they can be found. The women and children may be taken prisoners, but, of course, they are not to be killed."

Meanwhile, Carleton had ordered Kit Carson to march his troops from the Mescalero country to Fort Wingate and prepare for a war against the Navahos.

To "stimulate the zeal" of his troops Carleton posted prize money for captured Navaho livestock. He offered $20 for "every sound, serviceable horse or mule." As the soldiers' pay was less than $20 per month the bounty offer did stimulate them, and to prove their soldierly abilities, they began cutting off the knot of hair fastened by a red string which the Navahos wore on their heads.

The Navahos could not believe that Kit Carson condoned scalping, which they considered a barbaric custom introduced by the Spaniards. (The Europeans may or may not have introduced scalping to the New World, but the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English colonists made the custom popular by offering bounties for scalps of their respective enemies.)

Under Carleton's obsessive prodding, Kit Carson accelerated his scorched-earth program. By autumn he had destroyed most of the herds and grain between Fort Canby and Canyon de Chelly.

During the next few weeks as news of the soldiers' entry into Canyon de Chelly spread through the hidden camps of the Navahos, the people lost heart. "We fought for that country because we did not want to lose it," Manuelito said afterward. "We lost nearly everything . . . The American nation is too powerful for us to fight."

By early March, 3,000 Navahos had surrendered, and the trails to the north were filled with fearful Navahos approaching over the frozen snow. But the rico (rich) chiefs, Manuelito, Barboncito, and Armijo, refused to quit.

During March the Long Walk of the Navahos to Fort Sumner and the Bosque Redondo was set in motion.

Late in April Armijo's band of more than 400 came into Fort Canby. But Manuelito and his band went back to their hiding places along the Little Colorado.

In September he heard that his old ally Barboncito had been captured in the Canyon de Chelly. Now he, Manuelito, was the last of the rico holdouts, and he knew the soldiers would be looking everywhere for him.

ALTHOUGH GENERAL Carleton was being openly criticized now by New Mexicans for conditions at Bosque Redondo, he continued to hunt down Navahos. At last, on September 1, 1866, Manuelito limped into Fort Wingate with 23 beaten warriors and surrendered. They were all in rags, their bodies emaciated.

One of Manuelito's arms hung useless at his side from a wound. A short time later Barboncito came in with 21 followers and surrendered for the second time. Now there were no more war chiefs. Ironically, only 18 days after Manuelito surrendered, General Carleton was removed from command of the Army's Department of New Mexico.

When Manuelito arrived at the Bosque a new superintendent was there, A. B. Norton. The superintendent examined the soil on the reservation and pronounced it unfit for cultivation of grain.

"We were there for a few years," Manuelito remembered. "Many of our people died from the climate ..... People from Washington held a council with us. He explained how the whites punished those who disobeyed the law. We promised to obey the laws if we were permitted to get back to our own country. We promised to keep the treaty . . . We promised four times to do so. We all said 'yes' to the treaty, and he gave us good advice. He was General Sherman."

Before they could leave, the chiefs had to sign the new treaty (June 1, 1868), which began: "From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease." Barboncito signed first, then Armijo, Delgadito, Manuelito, Herrero Grande, and seven others.

"The nights and days were long before it came time for us to go to our homes," Manuelito said. "The day before we were to start we went a little way towards home because we were so anxious to start. We came back and the Americans gave us a little stock and we thanked them for that. We told the drivers to whip the mules, we were in such a hurry. When we saw the top of the mountain from Albuquerque we wondered if it was our mountain, and we felt like talking to the ground, we loved it so, and some of the old men and women cried with joy when they reached their homes."

Massacre at Sand Creek

In 1857, the Cheyennes, Aapahos, Sioux, Crows and other Plains tribes met at Fort Laramie with representatives of the United States and agreed to permit the Americans to establish roads and military posts across their territory. The Plains Indians did not relinquish any rights of claims to their lands, nor did they "surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing or passing over any of the tracts of country heretofore described."

Later, Black Kettle, chief of the Cheyennes, was among chiefs invited to see the Great Father, Abraham Lincoln, in Washington.

Then, in 1864, the governor of Colorado Territory, John Evans, issued a circular advising "friendly Indians" that the Great Father was angered by some Indians who were fighting with soldiers and "will certainly hunt them out and punish them." Friendly Indians were ordered to report to Fort Lyon.

Cheyennes and Arapahos received much of the blame for the Indian attacks on wagon trains, stagecoach stations, and settlers along the Platte trading route. George Bent, the half-breed son of the old trader William Bent, Little White Man, said the Cheyennes were attacked again and again by the troops without any cause, until they began retaliating in the only way they knew how.

ON NOV. 27 there were at Fort Lyon 600 men of Colonel Chivington's Colorado regiments which had been formed by Governor Evans for the sole purpose of fighting Indians. Colonel Chivington talked of "collecting scalps" and "wading in gore."

"I have come to kill Indians," he said, "and believe it is right and honorable to use any means under God's heaven to kill Indians."

During the chief's earlier visit to Washington, President Lincoln had given Black Kettle medals to wear, and Col. A. B. Greenwood, commissioner of Indian affairs, presented Black Kettle with a United States flag. Greenwood told him that as long as that flag flew above him no soldiers would ever fire upon him. Black Kettle was very proud of his flag and when in permanent camp always mounted it on a pole above his tepee.

In 1864 the Cheyenne camp lay in a horseshoe bend of Sand Creek north of an almost dry stream bed. Black Kettle's tepee was near the center of the village, with White Antelope's and War Bonnet's people to the west. On the east side and slightly separated from the Cheyennes was Left Hand's Arapaho camp. Altogether there were about 600 Indians in the creek bend, two-thirds of them women and children. Most of the warriors were several miles to the east hunting buffalo.

So confident were the Indians of absolute safety, they kept a night watch except of the pony herd which was corralled below the creek. The first warning they had of an attack was about sunrise—the drumming of hooves on the sand flats.

"I was sleeping in a lodge," said Edmond Guerrier, a half-breed trader. "I heard, at first, some of the squaws outside say there were a lot of buffalo coming into camp; others said they were a lot of soldiers."

George Bent, who was sleeping in the same area, said, "From down the creek a large body of troops was advancing at a rapid trot . . . more soldiers could be seen making for the Indian pony herds to the south of the camps; . . . I looked toward the chief's lodge and saw that Black Kettle had a large American flag tied to the end of a long lodgepole and was standing in front of his lodge, holding the pole, with the flag fluttering in the gray light of the winter dawn. I heard him call to the peole not to be afraid, that the soldiers would not hurt them; then the troops opened fire from two sides of the camp."

White Antelope, an old man of 75, unarmed, his dark face seamed from sun and weather, strode toward the soldiers. He was still confident that the soldiers would stop firing as soon as they saw the American flag and the white surrender flag which Black Kettle had now run up.

Black Kettle

Red Cloud

Manuelito

Cochise,

Medicine Calf Beckwourth, riding beside Colonel Chivington, saw White Antelope approaching. "He came running out to meet the command," Beckwourth later testified, "holding up his hands and saying 'Stop! stop!' He spoke it in as plain English as I can. He stopped and folded his arms until shot down."

ROBERT BENT, who was riding unwillingly with Colonel Chivington, said that when they came in sight of the camp "I saw the American flag waving and heard Black Kettle tell the Indians to stand around the flag, and there they were huddled—men, women, and children. This was when we were within 50 yards of the Indians. I also saw a white flag raised. These flags were in so conspicuous a position that they must have been seen.

"When the troops fired, the Indians ran, some of the men into their lodges, probably to get their arms..... I think there were 600 Indians in all. I think there were 35 braves and some old men, about 60 in all ..... the rest of the men were away from camp, hunting ..... After the firing the warriors put the squaws and children together, and surrounded them to protect them. I saw five squaws under a bank for shelter. When the troops came up to them they ran out and showed their persons to let the soldiers know they were squaws and begged for mercy, but the soldiers shot them all.

"I saw a little girl about 5 years of age who had been hid in the sand; two soldiers discovered her, drew their pistols and shot her, and then pulled her out of the sand by the arm. I saw quite a number of infants in arms killed with their mothers."

(In a public speech made in Denver not long before this massacre, Colonal Chivington advocated the killing and scalping of all Indians, even infants. "Nits make lice!" he declared.)

When the shooting ended, 105 Indian women and children and 28 men were dead. In his official report Chivington claimed between 400 and 500 dead warriors. He had lost nine killed, 38 wounded, many of the casualties resulting from careless firing by the soldiers upon each other. Among the dead chiefs were White Antelope, One-Eye, and War Bonnet. Black Kettle miraculously escaped by running up a ravine, but his wife was badly wounded.

After nightfall the survivors crawled out of the holes. It was bitter cold, and blood had frozen over their wounds, but they dared not make fires. The only thought in their minds was to flee eastward toward the Smoky Hill and try to join their warriors.

In a few hours of madness at Sand Creek, Chivington and his soldiers destroyed the lives or the power of every Cheyenne and Arapaho chief who had held out for peace with the white men.

Red Cloud Goes to Washington

Red Cloud, chief of the Oglala Sioux. He is remembered for his lithe figure, usually clad in a light blanket with moccasins, his straight black hair parted in the middle, draped over his shoulders to his waist. His wide mouth was fixed in a determined slit beneath his hawk nose and his eyes flashed when he talked. In negotiations with the white man he scolded them for treating the Indians like children.

During the autumn of 1869, Indians everywhere on the Plains were at peace. Red Cloud had won the Powder River country after a hard-fought war and he had no intention of following a new government order to move to the Missouri. A new Great Father had been chosen in Washington, President Grant. It was said he had chosen an Indian to be commissioner of Indian affairs, Donehogawa, also Ely Parker of the Iroquois. It was not easy to believe. Had the Great Spirit at last taught a red man to read and write so he could be the Little Father of the Indians?

Through an intermediary, Red Cloud was informed that he would be a welcome visitor to the Great Father's house in Washington if he wanted to come.

The idea of such a journey intrigued Red Cloud; it would give him an opportunity to talk with the Great Father and tell him that the Sioux did not want a reservation on the Missouri.

When Red Cloud and the Oglalas arrived at the Washington House on Pennsylvania Avenue, where a suite had been reserved for them, they were surprised to find Spotted Tail and a delegation of Brules waiting for them there. Because Spotted Tail had obeyed the government and moved his people to the Missouri River agency, Commissioner Parker feared there would be trouble between the two rival Tetons. They shook hands, however, and as soon as Spotted Tail told Red Cloud that he and his Brules thoroughly hated the Dakota reservation and wanted to return to their Nebraska hunting grounds east of Fort Laramie, the Oglala accepted the Brule as a returned ally.

At the White House reception the Sioux were more impressed by the hundreds of blazing candles in glittering chandeliers than they were by the Great Father and his cabinet members. Spotted Tail, who enjoyed good food, especially liked the strawberries and ice cream. "Surely the white men have many more good things to eat than they send to the Indians," he remarked.

Red Cloud responded by shaking hands with Secretary Cox and the other officials. "Look at me," he said. "I was raised on this land where the sun rises; now I come from where the sun sets. Whose voice was first sounded on this land? The voice of the red people who had but bows and arrows. The Great Father says he is good and kind to us. I don't think so. I am good to his white people.

"I do not want my reservation on the Missouri; this is the fourth time I have said so." He stopped for a moment, and gestured toward Spotted Tail and the Brule delegation. "Here are some people from there now. Their children are dying off like sheep; the country does not suit them."

Donehogawa of the Iroquois, the commissioner, replied: "We will tell the President what Red Cloud has said today. The President told me he would talk with Red Cloud very soon."

THE MEETING with President Grant was on June 9, in the executive office of the White House. Red Cloud repeated much of what he had said at the Interior Department. The treaty of 1868, he added, gave them the right to trade at Fort Laramie and have an agency on the Platte. Grant avoided a direct reply, but he suggested to Secretary Cox and Commissioner Parker that they call the Indians together the next day and explain to them the terms of the treaty.

Next morning, Secretary Cox went through the treaty point by point, while Red Cloud listened patiently to the slow interpretation of the English words. When it was finished he declared firmly: "This is the first time I have heard of such a treaty. I never heard of it and do not mean to follqw it."

The next morning, Donehogawa greeted the Sioux by saying simply that Secretary Cox would explain the new interpretation of the treaty. Cox spoke briefly.

He was sorry that Red Cloud and his people had misunderstood. Although the Powder River country was outside the permanent reservation, it was inside the part reserved for hunting grounds. If some of the Sioux preferred to live on their hunting grounds instead of inside the reservation, they could do so. Nor would they have to go to the reservation to trade and receive their goods.

Red Cloud acknowledged this by coming forward and shaking the commissioner's hand. "Yesterday, when I saw the treaty and all the false things in it," he said, "I was mad, and I suppose it made you the same . . . Now I am pleased . . . We have 32 nations and have a council house, just the same as you have. We held a council before we came here, and the demand I have made upon you is from the chiefs I left behind. We are all alike."

Although Red Cloud's stubborn determination secured a temporary agency for the Sioux near Fort Laramie, they were permitted to use it for less than two years. In 1873, the Sioux agency was moved out of the path of the surging flood of white emigration to the headwaters of the White River in northwestern Nebraska. Within a year or so, Camp Robinson was established nearby and the military would dominate the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies through the troublesome years ahead.

The Surrender of Cochise

Cochise, the great Southwestern chief, was a Chiricahua Apache. He was taller than most of his people, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, his face intelligent with black eyes, large straight nose, very high forehead, thick black hair. White men who met him said he was gentle in his manners, and very neat and clean in his appearance. When Americans first came to Arizona, Cochise had welcomed them. The harmony was short-lived, the ensuing battles were devastating.

Cochise sent a messenger in 1871 to the Star Chief at Santa Fe, General Gordon Granger, informing him that he would meet him at Canada Alamosa to talk peace.

Granger arrived in a six-mule ambulance with a small escort, and Cochise was waiting for him. Both men were eager to get the matter settled. For Granger it was an opportunity to win fame as the man who took the surrender of the great Cochise. For Cochise it was the end of the road; he was almost 60 years old and was very tired; streaks of silver dominated his shoulder-length hair.

GRANGER EXPLAINED that peace was possible only if the Chiricahuas agreed to settle on a reservation.

Cochise replied in a quiet voice, seldom gesturing: "The sun has been very hot on my head and made me as in a fire; my blood was on fire, but now I have come into this valley and drunk of these waters and washed myself in them and they have cooled me. Now that I am cool I have come with my hands open to you to live in peace with you. I speak straight and do not wish to deceive or be deceived. I want a good, strong and lasting peace.

"The Apaches were once a great nation; they are now but few. I have no father nor mother; I am alone in the world. No one cares for Cochise; that is why I do not care to live, and wish the rocks to fall on me and cover me up. When I was going around the world, all were asking for Cochise. Now he is here—you see him and hear him — are you glad? If so, say so. Speak, Americans and Mexicans, I do not wish to hide anything from you nor have you hide anything from me; I will not lie to you; do not lie to me."

A few months later, however, the government ordered the removal of all Apaches from Canada Alamosa to Fort Tularosa. As soon as he heard of the order, Cochise slipped away with his warriors to their dry and rocky mountains in southeastern Arizona. This time, Cochise resolved, he would stay there.

In the Time When the Corn Is Taken In (September, 1872) Cochise began receiving reports from his lookouts that a small party of white men was approaching his stronghold. The lookouts reported that Taglito, the Red Beard, was with them—Tom Jeffords. Cochise had not seen Taglito for a long time.

Back in the old days Tom Jeffords contracted to carry the mail between Fort Bowie and Tucson. Apache warriors ambushed Jeffords. And then one day the red-bearded white man came all alone to Cochise's camp. With no show of fear whatsoever, Taglito walked over to where Cochise was sitting and sat down beside him. Taglito Jeffords told Cochise he wanted a personal treaty with him so that he could earn his living carrying the mails.

Cochise was baffled. He had never known such a white man. There was nothing he could do but honor Taglito's courage by promising to let him ride his mail route unmolested. Many times afterward the tall red-bearded man came back to Cochise's camp and they would talk and drink tiswin together.

Cochise knew that if Taglito was with the party coming into the mountains, they were searching for him. Then he rode down with his son Naiche. Dismounting, he embraced Jeffords, who said in English to a white-bearded man in dusty clothing: "This is Cochise."

Cochise was not surprised when Taglito called him a general. He was Oliver Otis Howard. "Buenos dias, senor," Cochise said, and they shook hands.

Howard suggested that the Chiricahuas could live better if they would agree to move to a big reservation on the Rio Grande.

"I have been there," Cochise said, "and I like the country. Rather than not have peace I will go and take such of my people as I can, but that move will break up my tribe. Why not give me Apache Pass? Give me that, and I will protect all the roads. I will see that nobody's property is taken by Indians."

General Oliver Otis Howard remained in the Apache camp for 11 days and was completely won over by the courtesy and direct simplicity of Cochise.

"I was forced to abandon the Alamosa scheme," he wrote afterward, "and to give them, as Cochise had suggested, a reservation embracing a part of the Chiricahua Mountains and of the valley adjoining on the west, which included the Big Sulphur Spring and Rodgers' ranch."

In the spring of 1874 Cochise became very ill from a debilitating disease. Cochise grew so weak and was suffering from such intense internal pain that Jeffords decided to ride to Fort Bowie for the surgeon. As he was preparing to leave, Cochise asked: "Do you think you will see me alive again?"

Jeffords replied with the frankness of a brother: "No, I do not think I will."

"I think I will die about 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. Do you think we will see each other again?"

Jeffords was silent for a moment. "I don't know. What do you think about it?"

"I don't know," Cochise answered. "It is not clear to my mind, but I think we will, somewhere up there."

Before Jeffords returned from Fort Bowie, Cochise was dead.

THE HORROR OF A PEOPLE HUNTED LIKE RATS

LATIN AMERICA

AT CHRISTMAS, 1967, 18 Cuiva Indians were lured to the celebrations on a cattle ranch near the Colombo-Venezuela frontier. On Boxing Day the celebrations turned into a massacre when the Indians, including eight children, were shot down by the white colonists' revolver bullets.

At the trial the white woman who had cooked the meal described the scene: "When the Indians approached the table and began to eat they were attacked by everyone. First we heard bullets, then screams and cries. I remember that the ones who screamed most were the small children."

One of the assassins when questioned said: "For me the Cuiva Indians are animals, like deer or water rats. For years we have made Indian hunting excursions. I myself killed an Indian girl of about six, with a stick, because she was crying next to the bodies of her parents."

Most of the assassins are now free.

This is one dramatic example of the way the Indians in South America are treated. Another is the attack last year by the Colombian Army on a tribe of Indians in an area south of the Cuiva. Some of the Indians were killed. The grounds given for the attack were that the Indians were Castro-ite guerillas undermining the safety of the state.

Granada producer Brian Moser read of the Cuiva massacre in a Bogota newspaper during his return from Bolivia, where he had made *World in Action* documentaries on the death of guerilla leader Che Guevara and the trial of his associate Regis Debray.

The next year he returned to Colombia to take a closer look at the plight of the Indians. The result of his investigations is the three-part report on the Indians today, *The Disappearing World*. To get the film, Moser and his film crew lived among the Indians for a year.

MOSER wanted to know what day-to-day life the Indian lived, what kind of life could erupt into such ghastly headlines. "I found," he said, "that the situation for the 200,000 Indians belonging to some 57 different tribes, though not as violent as the case of the Cuiva, was in a different way just as serious. Many people have read of the plight of the Indians in Brazil, but few seem to realise that the same facts are applicable to Indians all over South America. In our zest to civilise the world, we are steadily wrecking other peoples' cultures, often without knowing the first thing about them."

The clash of cultures was the basis for the series *The Disappearing World*. "The problem," said Brian Moser, "was how to make films about so-called primitive Indians in such a way that they would gain your sympathy and understanding by being real human beings and not – as has so often been the case – merely strange exotic jungle savages."

The first problem was to find them. Not surprisingly, many had retreated into the remotest headwaters. The problems of locating them and presenting them as human beings were solved by working with student anthropologists who lived among the Indians and spoke their languages.

The Granada film crew set up camp in a flat in Bogota, 9,000ft. up in the Andes. Their equipment included an inflatable rubber dinghy, groundsheets, sheath knives, anti-snakebite serum, anti-biotic injections, shotguns and cartridges, 60lb. of tiny glass beads (highly valued in North-West Amazonia), film in waterproof bags, battery belts and sunguns for jungle filming. From this base they made four expeditions into jungle areas of Colombia.

The first journey into the Llanos, the north-eastern cattle lands of Colombia, got off to a bad start when the rubber dinghy was waterlogged and the film was submerged. The waterproof bags survived the test.

Anthropologist Bernard Acand guided the crew to the first-ever contact with a group of Cuiva Indians who had never before seen white men at close range.

The second journey was to the north-west headwaters of the Amazon to film another group of nomads, the Maku, this time away from the open plain deep into the tropical rain forest. The guide was Peter Silverwood Cope.

THE third expedition was into the Choco, the Pacific hinterland of Colombia. The Indians, the Embera, are a peaceful, idyllic people. They live beside swift-flowing rivers in one of the wettest parts of the world.

The fourth trip was into the north-west Amazonia, to join Cambridge anthropologists Stephen and Christine Hugh-Jones and the Barasana Indians. They arrived by dug-out canoe to film inside a *maloca*, a large, dark long-house.

"Many Indians desperately want to be brought into the modern world," Moser concluded. "Unhappily the only opportunity when their own way of life disappears is to join our society at the lowest level and add just a little more fire to the turbulent problem of the impoverished masses of Latin America. Sometimes the contact is cruel and violent, like that of the Cuiva Indians. More often it is slow, subtle and sad."

Brazil Believed Moving Toward Forced Relocation of Tribes

By JOSEPH NOVITSKI
Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 13—President Emilio G. Médici has ordered the formation of three new Indian reservations.

The President's action was interpreted as a reaffirmation of Brazil's intention to move Amazon tribes forcibly out of the way of the country's vast development program. That policy was publicly condemned recently by 84 Brazilian social scientists and historians.

The three reservations, in the Middle Amazon Basin south of the Amazon River, were established by presidential decree signed yesterday in Brasilia. They are destined to be occupied by the small primitive tribes that live along the route of the Trans-Amazon Highway, a road being built as the backbone of Brazil's drive westward to settle the Amazon Basin.

Simultaneously, General Médici altered the area of the Xingú national park, a world-famous reservation for about 1,300 Indians of several tribes that are being displaced by another highway. The President eliminated the area north of the road and added a slightly larger area well to the south of the highway. The result will be a slightly larger park with the road—criticized as an invasion of the Indian reservation—as its northern boundary.

The New York Times July 14, 1971

The four reservations, as well as others scattered through the sparsely inhabited Amazon Basin, are to serve as homes for tribes within their boundaries and others that are to be moved to make way for ranching, mining and logging operations in the Amazon territory. The policy of moving Brazil's steadily dwindling Indian population out of the way of the country's progress has been criticized as inhuman by the social scientists.

The Government has answered that the concentrating of the primitive, seminomadic tribes will make it easier to protect them from the onslaught of civilization and its diseases and to supply them with medical care.

"Just as at the beginning of the century, today the remaining Indians and the whole of their worldly and cultural goods are being made out to be a useless or harmful obstacle in the way of the progress and development of the country," the social scientists' statement said. The statement was an appeal to the Government and Brazilian public opinion to soften the pragmatic basis of its Indian policy in the name of humanity.

The military Government has never answered the statement publicly, but the establishment of the three new reservations yesterday was taken as reaffirmation of its policy. That policy was stated last May by Oscar J. Bandeira de Mello, a retired army general who directs Indian affairs as the president of the National Indian Foundation.

"Assistance for the Indian must be as complete as possible," the general asserted during a lecture at the National Police Academy. "But it cannot obstruct national development and the work to settle the Amazon. This is one of the directives of the foundation program for 1971."

General Bandeira de Mello made it clear that his directive meant that Indians would be moved to specially created reservations away from the main thrust of Brazil's westward march. Part of the criticism advanced by anthropologists is that the reservations might also be far from the tribes' ancestral lands and that tribes that have been enemies for generations might be thrown together.

BRAZILIAN INDIANS HOLD UP ROAD GANGS

BELO HORIZONTE, Brazil (UPI)—Indian warriors with bows and arrows and their squaws by their side have been harassing road workers building the Trans-Amazon highway, the National Indian Foundation reported.

On at least three occasions, road workers have been robbed and have had their heads shaved and then have been forced to do a dance of thanks to the Indians for not killing them, the service said. It reported that despite the provocations the workers had obeyed orders and had not used their arms against the Indians.

According to reports received in Belo Horizonte, the Indians emerge from the jungles with bow and arrow in hand and surround road gangs. Their squaws then take from the road gangs their clothes, food and surveying instruments, which have a special fascination for them. Then the Indians shave off the hair and eyebrows of the workers and force them all to dance their thanks.

Scouts of the National Indian Foundation have been going ahead of the road crews to pacify the Indians and tell them of the benefits the road will eventually bring them.

THE NEW YORK TIMES
SUNDAY, JULY 11, 1971

AMERICAN COMPANY IMPLICATED IN GENOCIDE OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

A "pacification" expedition organized by the Brazilian Government to establish contact with the Paracanan Indians in the Amazon forests has become a genocidal operation, according to some Brazialian newspepers. The area involved has rich iron deposits exploited by the United States Steel Company.

The Indians were taken used clothing by the National Foundation for the Indian (FUNAI), the Brazillian governmental organ in charge of protection of the Indians. The *Jornal da Tarde*, evening edition of the conservative *O Estado de Sao Paulo* published photos of the natives receiving used clothing and pointed out that "as they carried away the clothing and objects of the whites, the Paracanans were threatened with infection and now many of them are beginning to die." The newspaper stressed that "by the end of the pacification work, some 50% of the tribe will have died."

Up until now, the Paracanans have lived quietly, devoted to agriculture and hunting in the Dos Carajas sierra in the Brazilian state of Para, between the towns of Maraba and Altamira. But the entire region is within the boundaries of some 100,000 square kilometers ceded to the Compania Meridional de Mineria, a United States Steel subsidiary, to exploit the iron and anything else it runs into.

This has not been the first instance of germ warfare against the Indians. In 1969, in the province of Bahia, landowners interested in expelling the Indians from land rich in gold deposits handed out clothing contaminated with smallpox. In a month, they were all dead.

OLD CLOTHES IN PERU, TOO

One year after the worst earthquake in Peru's history, more than 20,000 families still are living in makeshift shelters in the disaster area. Many communities are digging out.

Relief efforts have come from many sources – the U.S., Cuba, Russia, West Germany. According to the New York Times, "Cubans gave new shoes and wool shirts, rather than used clothing. By contrast, it is a joke in Caras that a shipment of clothing sent from Texas, which has a special partner arrangement with Peru under the Alliance for Progress, contained discarded band uniforms from Austin."

The New York Times/Nancy Moran

People of R'lom, a resettlement village, at window of church as leader, K'eh, right, met with officials from Saigon

Vietnamese Resettling Montagnard Tribesmen

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY
Special to The New York Times

DALAT, South Vietnam, July 23—Vietnamese province chiefs and military authorities in the Central Highlands are planning to resume a controversial program of transferring tens of thousands of primitive hill tribesmen out of Communist-controlled areas.

Last year 50,000 montagnard tribesmen were "relocated," in many cases against their will, before American advisers forced a suspension, terming the practice counterproductive because it alienates the people usually without improving their lot.

But now, according to high American advisory sources, the uprootings seem about to begin again, although under closer supervision from Saigon, and with assurances in most cases that the people agree to be moved.

American advisers here say that plans drafted in one province—Quangduc, near the Cambodian border—could involve 30,000 tribesmen. The plans have not been submitted to Saigon for approval.

According to Norman P. Firnstahl, deputy chief of the United States Government agency in charge of aid to war victims, a proposal by the Pleiku province chief to move 6,000 montagnards was recently turned down by a delegation from Saigon on the ground of insufficient planning.

There are also plans to move 4,500 people in Kontum Province and 10,000 to 15,000 in Ninhthuan, on the coast east of here, but these plans have also not yet been submitted for approval, Mr. Firnstahl said.

The Americans disapprove. When the chief of Tuyenduc Province asked them to urge Saigon to approve his plan to move montagnards from around Dalat, they refused.

John Paul Vann, the senior United States official in the Highlands, said that the problems often caused by relocation, disorientation, death from illness or weakness, and sometimes starvation — far outweighed any gain from increased security.

The province chiefs are all under pressure from the Government to improve security by next summer. When they cannot send in more troops, they prefer to move villagers to a place that is already secure.

Election Year a Factor

The relocations suspended earlier this year were carried out by the chief of the Highlands military region without clearance from the Government. In this election year, President Nguyen Van Thieu is anxious for votes from the million montagnards, so, for the moment, the provincial authorities are not getting their way.

Huynh Thanh Hung, Assistant Minister of Social Welfare, told a recent meeting of provincial authorities here: "We have been receiving requests from this and other provinces to move the montagnard people but before it can be allowed there must be clear justification for it and a detailed plan."

But within 30 days, according to Mr. Hung, more than a thousand tribesmen — Americans say it is 2,000 to 4,000, but nobody knows—who fled Cambodia last year will be transferred from Buprang in Quangduc Province to abandoned lands in underpopulated Phuoclong Province to the south. According to the government, they have asked to go.

"We have two problems in Quangduc," Mr. Hung said in an interview in French during his inspectioin trip here. "One is the montagnards from Cambodia, and their fate is already decided. The other is the montagnards who have been living in that province all along, and for them we must have detailed plans before they can be moved, and the sites have to be inspected first.

"But the biggest problems are the cases where the movements are involuntary."

To check upon its success with voluntary transfers, and to show Saigon's concern, Mr. Hung's ministry sent a delegation to inspect the resettlement village of R'lom, eight miles southeast of here, today.

The 2,500 villagers, from three tribes—the Ko Ho, Churu and Cil—used to live in four hamlets beyond the mountains.

American helicopters brought them here, at their request, two months ago and set them down on a grassy field about the size for football. With some money and sheets of tin from the Government, they built a new village.

The village chief—K'eh (pronounced Kah-eh), an energetic man in a wrinkled white cotton jacket, faded rep tie and new American combat boots—led the greeting ceremonies. He called a rag-tag band of militiamen to attention and escorted the delegation into the wooden church that serves as the village hall.

There, Mr. Hung, heard K'eh tell how the villagers had 150 hectares—370 acres—of rice land and were able to go freely into the surrounding hills to cut firewood. He was proud and eager to please.

Grumbles in the Hall

The younger men in the hall grimaced as K'eh spoke. "It's not good," one remarked. "He said we have 150 hectares but we don't. And he didn't even ask the minister here for a school and a dispensary. Every year we try to get that, and here is the minister, and he didn't even ask."

The Vietnamese assistant province chief for social development, Doan Van Sanh, was asked why a number of the villagers spoke French. He said, "They used to be drivers and sergents in the French Army—they worked for the French. They did not go to school much. They can't push themselves that far, you know, they usually drop out too early."

Apparently in a further effort to try to win the montagnards back to the Government, after last year's unpopular forced transfers, President Thieu replaced the ineffectual Minister of Ethnic Minorities, Paul Nhur, with a younger man, Nay Luett. He, in turn, has been expanding his ministry with montagnards and has set up a branch office in Pleiku.

20th century endangers pygmy tribe

By EUAN STACE
Associated Press

MAMBASSA, The Congo—An unofficial campaign to bring some of the 40,000 pygmies of the Ituri rain forest from the Stone Age closer to the 20th century almost led to the little peoples' extinction.

The campaign has been called off and the pygmies drifted back into their forest homelands.

The experiment ended after medical and social disorders broke out among the pygmies as they tried to live outside the rain forest.

Authorities now will await the views of an international conference of scientists before deciding how to "emancipate" the people of the Ituri, whose average height is 4-foot-2.

The 10-day conference, at Burg Wartenstein, Austria, beginning Aug. 6, was organized by the Wenner-Gren Anthropological Research Foundation of New York.

It will group the views of geneticists, sociologists, socio-economists, bacteriologists, agronomists, anthropologists and just about any authority who has ever studied the forest nomads.

The organizers also hope two pygmies will attend. They would be two of the very few of their people ever to leave the Ituri since the Egyptian Pharaoh Pepi II asked the explorer Harkhouf to bring some back during one of Harkhouf's expeditions to find the source of the Nile.

Six months ago, President Joseph Mobutu of The Congo called for the pygmies to be brought into "the Congolese family." He appointed a pygmy territorial governor in Kivu Province, the first pygmy ever to hold office.

An Association for the Social Promotion of Pygmies was set up. It established model villages and cleared ground for plantations to tempt the pygmies out of the forest. Offers of free sacks of rice and bananas were made.

The gesture was well meant but almost catastrophic.

Free food, sociologists said, only made the pygmies parasitic. Worse, the prolonged stay outside of the forest made them ill.

Anthropologists say pygmies have a superlative medical lore but in the roadside villages they had no herbs to practise it.

The village life almost broke down the pygmies' social order. In the forest they move camp every three weeks or so. Quarrelling neighbors in one camp build their beehive huts well apart in the next.

In the villages, positions were fixed and arguments were frequent.

The word quietly went round that they would be better off in the forest.

Some scientists are totally opposed to the idea of emancipating the pygmies and feel they don't need it. They claim pygmies have a system of government much more democratic than anyone else. Clans have no chiefs and all decisions are taken by common consent. Dissenters are free to quit the clan if they wish and join another, no questions asked.

Their life expectancy, beyond the age of eight is around 60. For the villager, it is 45 to 50 after the age of 11.

Yet change seems inevitable for the pygmies. The 250,000 square miles of the Ituri is a tempting source of teak, mahogany and iron wood for developers.

Court ruling against aborigines causes gloom, anger

By ROBERT TRUMBULL
© New York Times Service

YIRRKALA, Australia — Gloom and anger have pervaded this isolated tribal settlement on the remote Gove Peninsual of Arnhem Land, in northern Australia, since a white judge ruled that the wilderness occupied by the dark-skinned aborigines for thousands of years does not belong to them.

The decision has also upset many white friends of the aborigines. Newspaper editorials have called for new legislation to affirm aboriginal land rights. Labor unions have threatened to halt mining operations in the disputed area by taking key men off the job. Prime Minister William McMahon has asked his Cabinet for new policy recommendations affecting aborigines.

"We were here before the Australian law arrived," Roy Marika, the elected leader of the 11 tribes around Yirrkala, declared in an interview. He said that the Tribal Council, which he heads, was "extremely upset" by the court decision.

The aborigines, who look Negroid, are believed to have migrated from Southeast Asia thousands of years ago when the two continents were connected by land bridges. Like the American Indians, they were the victims of white settlers in the early days of colonization.

About half of the 45,000 pure-blooded aborigines left today live in the wild, largely barren Northern Territory a centrally administered area of 524,000 square miles.

Those in the relatively lush forests of Arnhem Land, is 31,000 square miles, are proud of their racial exclusiveness. They say that not a single partly white baby has been born in the tribes despite the presence of thousands of servicemen on the Gove Peninsula in the Second World War at an air base built by U.S. Seabees.

The Yirrkala tribes instituted legal action in 1968 to invalidate the lease by the Australian Government of an 80-square-mile area on the Gove Peninsula to Swiss and Australian mining interests. The land is rich in high-grade bauxite, the basis ore of aluminum.

Mr. Justice Richard Blackburn of the Northern Territory Supreme Court ruled this week that the tribal claims, unlike those of North American Indians, lacked a basis in treaties or law.

When Capt. Arthur Phillip landed at the present site of Sydney in 1788 and claimed all Australia for England, "every square inch of territory in the colony became the property of the Crown," the judge said.

The decision held that the nomadic aborigines lacked a governmental authority with which the British could have negotiated, as settlers in New Zealand did with the native Maoris.

In "philosphical justification" of colonialism, Mr. Justice Blackburn said, "the whole earth was open to the industry and enterprise of the human race, which had a duty and right to develop the earth's resources. The more advanced people were therefore justified in dispossessing, if necessary, the less advanced."

Mr. Justice Blackburn conceded that the aborigines had demonstrated a "spiritual" attachment to the land, but held that this did not constitute a "proprietary" right.

"The Gove Peninsula has been a paradise for the aboriginals," said Keith Hendry, the mission superintendent. The seminomadic tribes use houses "only when it rains" and find their needs amply fulfilled by the game in the eucalyptus forests and the fish in the Arafura Sea, he said.

Now, with Government supported mission enterprises such as the technical school, mechanical shop, a brick-manufacturing plant and market gardens providing work and "on-the-job training" at an average wage of $25 a week, the tribesman are gradually adapting to a money economy, he said. The brick-making plant and garden, have a market at the $350-million bauxite project at the new town of Nhulunbuy, 20 miles northwest of here. The aborigines are "an ideal permanent labor pool" for the huge mining enterprise, Mr. Hendry said.

Officials of Nabolco Proprietary Ltd., the jointly owned Swiss-Australian management company for the bauxite venture, say that they were hopeful of negotiating the mining rights with the aborigines on about the same terms as the Government contract had tribes won their case.

Royalties to be paid to the Government are expected to amount to about $2-million a year, to be paid into a trust fund for all the aborigines of Arnhem Land.

Aborigines may obtain loans from the fund at low interest. Since the bauxite mining has given Arnhem Land the only roads within 500 miles, the Yirrkala people have been borrowing to buy automobiles, the new status symbol, a misionary said.

AUSTRALIA SENATE GETS AN ABORIGINE

By JOHN WASILIEV
Reuter

BRISBANE — Australia will soon have its first aboriginal member of Parliament, but he is likely to face as much criticism from his own people as praise.

Neville Bonner, a 53-year-old carpenter selected to fill a vacancy in the Senate, Australia's federal upper house, has already been branded an Uncle Tom and a white man's aboriginal by the more radical of the country's 150,000 aboriginal people.

He might have black skin, but that is where his similarity to an aborigine ends, one said.

Bonner has defended his stand. He will not be going into Parliament just to represent aborigines, but to represent all people, he said.

"My role will be that of any other Australian senator — to represent the people of Australia," the slightly-built aborigine told a public meeting shortly after his selection.

He married and had five children by his first wife who died in 1969. He plans to marry his secretary, a white woman, next year.

Bonner is against any racial segregation, but has definite views that aborigine aspirations should be achieved through proper channels, not radical demonstrations.

London, Ontario, Free Press

Want treaties, rights resolved

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Indians reject cash, talks

By JOE McCLELLAND
of The Free Press

A rebuff was handed the Ontario government Friday by Indian bands of Southwestern Ontario, who rejected not only the government's invitation to consultations but also a $14,000 no-strings cash offer that went with it.

The Indians told government officials in a confrontation at the Hotel London not to come back until they had done "some housecleaning" at Queen's Park.

John Yaremko, provincial secretary and citizenship minister, was met with suspicion and hostility Thursday when he came to London with the money in envelopes for the Indians. They handed it back.

The meeting was the sixth held by the minister in a week with the 93 Indian bands across the province. It was the only one which turned down the money and the offer of dialogue.

The rejection did not come, however, until after two half days of discussion by the Indians among themselves. Ten of the 11 bands of Southwestern Ontario were represented.

Indian spokesmen said the refusal of the government overture was unanimous, but government officials disputed this.

Lyle Riley, Southwestern Ontario regional vice-president of the Union of Ontario Indians, said all 10 bands had agreed to spurn the offer and the 11th band, Cape Croker Chippewas, boycotted the meeting entirely.

The $14,000 government offer consisted of $500 to each band and another $8,500 to the 11 bands collectively, to be used for study among themselves to determine what form of provincial assistance they want.

But the Indian response was: "The foremost responsibility of the federal government and any responsibility the provincial government might have to the Indian people of Ontario is to recognize the question of lands, aboriginal rights and treaty obligations to the satisfaction of the Indian people of Ontario."

Mr. Riley, who is also a member of the Thames Chippewa band, said: "By accepting the money, we could jeopardize our bargaining position with the federal government. We want the questions of treaties, lands and aboriginal rights resolved before we negotiate with any level of government."

Southwestern Ontario Indians said it was easier for the government to persuade Northern Ontario Indians to accept its approach because most of the bands there are poverty-stricken. "A man who hasn't even got a house isn't going to say no," a spokesman said.

Chief Harry Miskokomon, of the Thames Chippewas, suggested a "housecleaning" when he told the government representatives to take back the money, appoint a consultant to review Ontario legislation and eliminate its "discriminatory" statutes, "and then come back to us."

Wilfred Welldon, assistant director, Indian community branch, had suggested the bands retain lawyers or other expert advisers with the money the province was offering to give them. Chief Miskokomon said the government made the laws it was up to them to change them.

And if the Indian decision is for the province "to stay the hell out of Indian affairs, then we will stay the hell out," he said. But the Ontario government is not going to enter talks with the federal government about assuming responsibility for the Indians without first consulting the Indians themselves, he emphasized.

After the rejection of the provincial invitation, Mr. Welldon said the government accepts it, that "these are strong, well-informed men" in this area, and if they want to get along without provincial help, then that is their option.

Metis to get $1 million from Ottawa

OTTAWA (CP) — Federal grants of more than $1-million have been approved for Metis and non-status Indian associations, Robert Stanbury, minister responsible for citizenship, said Saturday.

The grants for the 1971-72 fiscal year which began March 31 are more than double the $400,000 granted for such programs last year by the Secretary of State's Department.

The Cabinet decided last Thursday that the $1-million should be provided to Metis. The decision followed a meeting between Mr. Stanbury and representatives of provincial and federal Metis organizations last Monday.

The national Metis federation, the Native Council of Canada, presented a brief to Mr. Stanbury and other Cabinet ministers urging greater financial assistance. The brief said the Metis organizations had been promised $1.2-million for their programs this year.

The council complained that the Government had accepted one formula for granting money to registered Indians but would not apply the same formula to Metis. Non-status Indians and Metis, long relegated to the periphery of Canadian society, had greater need for assistance.

In a statement Saturday, Mr. Stanbury said this year's $1-million worth of grants would be part of a four-year program.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, JULY 19, 1971

Indian treaty maps redrawn by Ottawa, brotherhood charges

Special to The Globe and Mail

REGINA — The National Indian Brotherhood has charged Ottawa with stripping Indians of their land titles by simply redrawing treaty maps.

And the Indian Association of Alberta has said it will refrain from active participation in the NIB, especially activities of its national committee on Indian rights and treaties.

These were just two of the major developments at the NIB's general assembly meeting, which ended in Regina on Friday. Debate on operations of the national treaty rights committee dominated much of the discussion in the assembly.

George Manuel of Ottawa, NIB president, said the new map drawn by the federal Department of Energy, Mines and Resources exemplified the Government's principle that Indians have no aboriginal title.

The brotherhood says the Government has simply taken the land, because the land was never ceded to the Government.

"They've simply mapped the land for the Canadian Government, completely forgetting any relevance to Indians," Mr. Manuel said. Later he said the NIB has copies of a classified memo saying that all copies of previous treaty maps were to be destroyed and the new maps were to be distributed.

The Indian leader accused the Government of rewriting history. "How many times has Indian Affairs distorted history by doing this before?"

Copies of what were termed the old and new maps were displayed at the meeting, and almost every boundary on the new ones is different, although some show only slight alterations.

"There was never any consultation with the National Indian Brotherhood about the map revision, although the federal Government knows that we are doing research on treaty and aboriginal claims."

During the final day of the assembly, Harold Cardinal, president of the Indian Association of Alberta, led his delegation out of the meeting. They left after voting against a motion to allow the NIB to distribute federal money to provincial treaty-research projects.

Mr. Cardinal said his stand is that the provinces should be allowed to ask the Privy Council for their own research grant without having to go through "brown" bureaucracy like the NIB. He said later he was not walking out on the NIB, but wanted further direction from the Alberta Indian chiefs before agreeing to the brotherhood's direction.

The motion, later passed, affirmed provincial and territorial delegates' faith in the NIB to dispense $300,000 to research projects on treaty and aboriginal rights.

The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians abstained from voting on the motion, but said later it has confidence in the NIB as a national association to represent Canadian Indians.

Mr. Cardinal and David Ahenakew, FSI chief, said their two executives would meet at the end of July to discuss the issue of treaty rights research.

Tribe Stakes Claim To Road Area

MORLEY, Alta. (AP) — With a white lawyer at their elbows, the three chiefs of the Stony Indian Band Council announced Wednesday they would convert a section of the Trans-Canada Highway into a toll road.

The move is to press their claim to mineral rights under land they acquired from the province in a swap for land onto which the highway was widened.

Unless the dispute is settled by Aug. 20, the band plans to impose a toll of 25 cents a vehicle where the road cuts through the reserve.

The dispute stems from an agreement reached in February, 1968, under which the Stonys traded 340 acres of land for 13,188 acres adjoining the reserve.

The Indians say they understood the agreement to include the transfer of mineral rights on the two parcels of land, while the province said that was not the case.

CANADA

JUL 13 1971

Chief denies charges in Indian rights case

Canadian Press

PENTICTON, B.C. — Westbank Indian Chief Noll Derriksan pleaded not guilty to three charges arising from an Indian fish-in last Oct. 4 when he appeared in provincial court yesterday.

In what is considered to be a test case of aboriginal Indian rights, he is charged with catching a kokanee in Peachland Creek, up which such fish go to spawn; with cathing a fish by impaling it on a hook through some part of its body instead of luring the fish to take the hook into its mouth as in angling and with taking a kokanee in a manner other than by angling.

About 150 Indians from the Okanagan and other parts of British Columbia, including a number of chiefs and provincial leaders, participated in the fish-in.

In opening the case, Prosecuting Attorney Fred Herbert said the facts were simple and admitted by both sides. He said the issue is whether Mr. Derriksan is subject to compliance with the regulations.

Court 'watchdogs'

Law students form group

MONTREAL STAR,
JUNE 25, 1971

TORONTO — A 29-year-old York University law student is organizing a team of "justice watchdogs" to defend Indians in the courts. It is intended to "at least slow down" the courtroom treadmill" that lands so many Indians in Ontario jails.

David Thurber is training 17 Indian court workers to defend native people throughout Ontario, especially in the north. The program is financed by a $24,000 Opportunities for Youth grant.

"Conceivably this program could and will bring the northern courts to a standstill," said Mr. Thurber. "Most of the people appearing in these courts are native people. In the fall, hopefully, all their cases will be challenged to the full extent of the law."

Mr. Thurber said the court workers now are undergoing a crash course in law at Osgoode Hall and the University of Toronto law school.

They are being trained to defend native people not represented by lawyers on all summary conviction offences — those carrying possible jail terms of up to six months.

On more serious charges, the workers will arrange for lawyers to handle trials and provide legal advice.

The law prohibits any person not a lawyer from defending a person charged with an indictable offence.

He said the program was prompted by recent studies indicating the percentage of Indians in the prison population is far higher then the ratio of natives to the population as a whole.

The law student said 95 per cent of the prisoners in the Kenora district jail for women are of Indian extraction, although the Indian population comprises only 10 per cent of area residents.

Montreal Star July 21 '71

Metis ask mayor to apologize

Canadian Press

SASKATOON — The Metis Society of Saskatchewan has asked Saskatoon Mayor Sid Buckwold for a public apology for his take-off of Metis leader Louis Riel last Friday night.

"It is a good example of white philosophy," Bruce Flamont, administrator for the society, said yesterday. ". . . Whitey goes around figuring he is the greatest and anyone else is to be used for fun and profit."

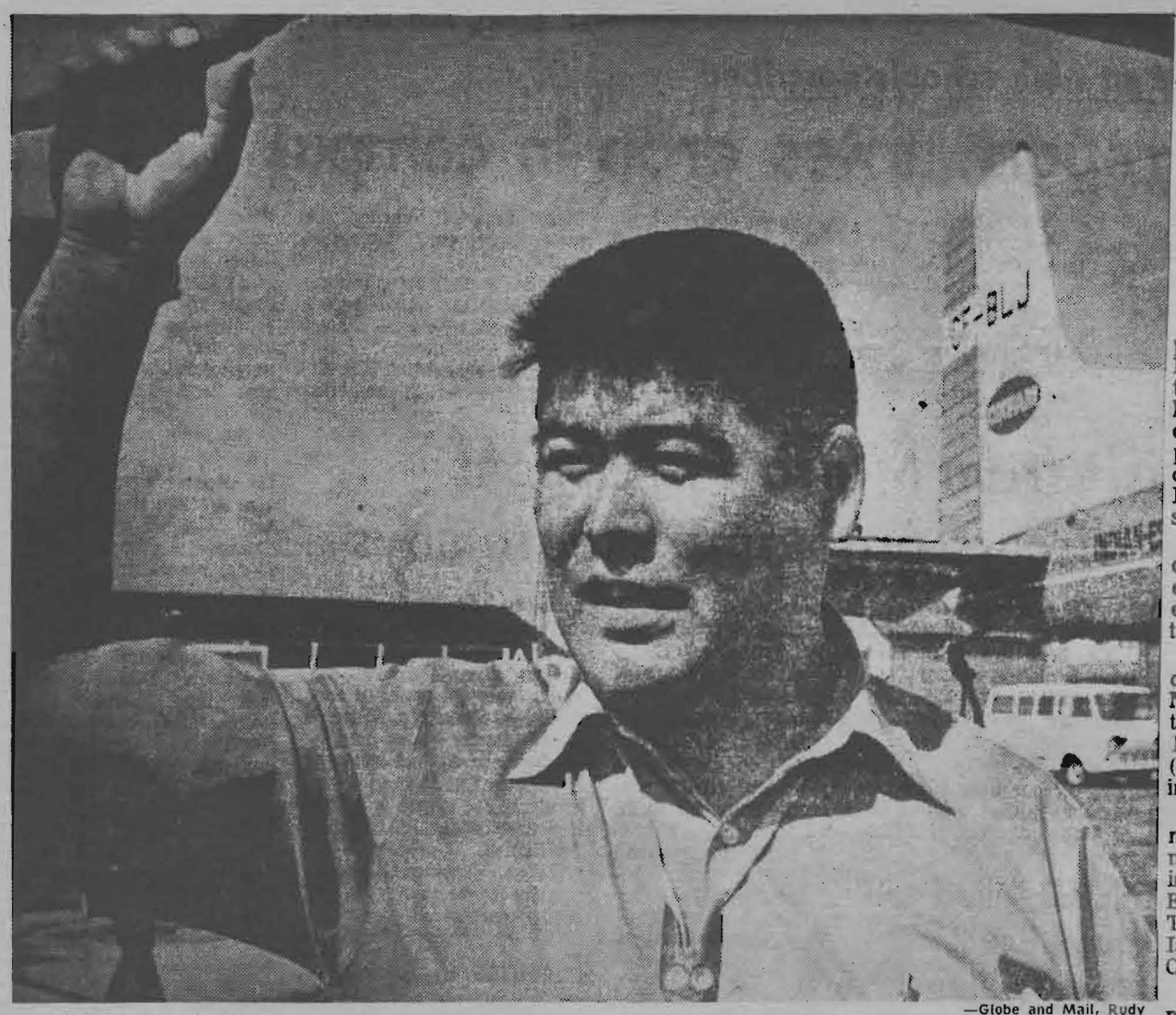
At a civic reception last Friday, Mayor Buckwold emerged from a coffin with a noose around his neck and recited a poem, the gist of which was that Riel would have died happier if he had been hanged in Saskatoon instead of Regina. The reception was for representatives of Regina's summer exhibition.

Mr. Flamont said the skit was an answer "to these people who ask what racism or white supremist ignorance is."

The society has tried hard to build up native people's history and expose lies built up during the past 100 years, he said.

"Louis Riel is a major fact of our history, both Indian and Metis. He was brutally murdered for the simple reason his people wanted freedom from oppression and greed."

Riel was hanged in 1885 for leading Metis and Indians in a rebellion over land rights.



—Globe and Mail, Rudy

Wally Firth grasps the rope tiedown attached to the wing of the plane he will fly in the territories.

Oxfam breaks new ground, awards $25,000 to Canadian Indians for purchase of plane

By RUDY PLATIEL

The first grant for a North American project by Oxfam of Canada culminated in "wings for Wally" yesterday at Toronto Island airport.

Wally Firth, a 35-year-old Loucheux Indian and executive secretary of the northwest region for the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, took off for the Yukon in a Cessna 185 float-and-ski plane

Jack Shea, executive secretary of Oxfam, described the $25,000 grant for the plane as a breakthrough.

He said that although Oxfam is involved in financing projects in 120 countries, this was "the first project of its kind of a domestic nature we have ever supported" in North America.

Andrew Nicholas, president of IEA, said the grant and the purchase of the plane were a significant step in efforts to assist the progress of native people in Canada's North.

Mr. Firth said that the plane will enable the IEA and the Yukon Native Brotherhood to travel between native communities collecting interviews, news and opinions and establish communications between native groups who are scattered and isolated.

In addition to obtaining material for radio broadcasts in the territories, he said, project workers will use a videotape recorder to take television programs to communities beyond the range of stations. The video equipment also will allow the recording of statements by settlement leaders so they can "talk" to the leaders in other settlements that they would normally not be able to reach because of distance.

Native leaders say that without an adequate flow of information and dialogue into and between isolated native settlements, the communities cannot be meaningfully involved in developments that will affect their lives, or deal with many of the problems facing native people in Canada.

The program of travelling to settlements with the videotape recorder is "like putting the media in the hands of the people," Mr. Firth said.

There had been a long debate witnin Oxfam over making a grant to native people in Canada because many officials believed that Canada's obligation to native people was a legal one and therefore not properly one for charity.

However, officials decided that providing the plane would help strengthen the position of native people in resolving the question of their legal rights and position—as well as assist them in identifying economic needs.

Mr. Firth, forn in Fort McPherson, NWT, left school after 2½ years and travelled through the North as a hunter and trapper, a Hudson's Bay Co. clerk-manager, a game warden and a Canadian Broadcasting Corp. announcer-operator.

They Can't Really Return

by Staff Writer

IT's no surprise to Indians and Eskimos when someone says government officials "have reached their level of incompetency."

"White men always aspire to higher positions," said the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians' Rodney Soonias, "especially in the Centennial Towers Indian affairs offices in Yellowknife."

Quoting the so-called Peter principle, he said "As soon as they learn to do a job and Indians begin to trust them, they are promoted to another position where they become incompetent and useless again. It continues until they reach a point where they remain incompetent."

The efficiency or the inefficiency of the civil service is not the point, claim informed individuals, particularly when there is talk of abolishing the department of Indian affairs altogether.

Mr. Soonias, a Plains Cree Indian, admitted as much when he said there is a place for expert help in Indian life and education, but that Indians must be allowed to do their work themselves.

He said many people believe that mineral development is the answer to native unemployment. "But mines and oil are not labor-intensive industries; they don't solve these problems."

He pointed out that seven big northern mines now operating employ only about 700 people. "This means then, that if mineral resources of the north are to be developed, and they will be as a consequence of these resources disappearing in the south, you be forthcoming if the Indians do what many seem to want: stay on, or return to, the land.

The bush is still able to support large numbers and this will go on for a long time because, according to Prof. J. G. McConnell of the University of Saskatchewan's department of geography, "The resources the Indian uses are usable in perpetuity. They are renewable. However, they can't compete with employment in mining and oil as far as monetary returns are concerned."

"The essence of the problem in the north," said panelist Prof. F. F. Langford of the University of Saskatchewan's geological sciences department, "is that the population growth among the native peoples is high, more than double the rate of the rest of Canada. The pressure of the old have to insure that every job they make is a job for a northerner. Big mines don't come every day. If you don't make these available jobs for the people of the north you'll find you're paying the profits into welfare for them."

Because of present or anticipated mineral and oil and gas shortages, development of the north is inevitable. The Indian and Eskimo, bound to the past but committed to the present and the future, don't really have a choice.

"If you're short of something," says Prof. W. K. Braun, also of the university's geological sciences department, "you simply take it, in spite of the consequences to the environment." ■

Militants complain

Ottawa denies charge it browbeats trappers

By STANLEY McDOWELL
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — Oil and gas exploration on Banks Island, NWT, home of a small but thriving community of Eskimo trappers, is going ahead only with the step-by-step approval of the islanders, officials of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs said yesterday.

A senior department official denied a charge by a Northern militant group that Government consultation with the trappers is a fraud.

"They just go up there and do what they want," Mrs. Nellie Cournoyer, a leader of the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE), said in a telephone interview from Inuvik.

COPE, led by Mrs. Cournoyer and Mrs. Agnes Semmler, also of Inuvik, speaks in the name of Indians and Eskimos of the Northwest Territories. Most of the Banks Islanders are members, Mrs. Cournoyer said.

The Northern Affairs Department spokesman said consultations with the Banks Island trappers, a community of about 140 people, have been going on regularly since last fall, after the Islanders threatened court action to stop oil exploration.

He said the Banks Island Trappers Association and the Sachs Harbor Community Association have given their agreement to a program of exploration by the gravity method—which uses changes in the gravitational pull of the earth to indicate possible pools of oil.

Native trappers are being employed as monitors by the Government to ensure that the operations do not threaten the habitat of wildlife, especially the white fox, which is the main source of their income.

He said Government, industry and the local organizations have agreed that any further exploration activities will require discussion with the local people's associations.

The Government spokesman rejected a charge by Mrs. Cournoyer that the consultations with the local people amount to browbeating sessions in which high-powered teams of Government and industry experts bombard the Eskimos with confusing jargon and figures and then go ahead and do whatever they want.

"It may have been that way when the oil companies first went in there," he said. But the Government now insists that the will of the local people be observed.

"They have what they consider a pretty good thing going there," he said of the trapping operation, which brings each man an income ranging from $2,000 to $12,000 a year, depending on changes in the white fox population.

The number of white fox varies widely, in step with that of the lemming on which it feeds, over a four-year cycle.

The department also denied charges by Mrs. Cournoyer that COPE has not been kept informed of what she called the "secret" meetings between officials and Eskimos on Banks Island.

Most of the Eskimos on the island are members of COPE he said, and could have notified Mr. Cournoyer and Mrs. Semmler if they wanted them present.

Mrs. Cournoyer said that although the trappers were COPE members, none of them was capable of holding his own against Government officials and oilmen without "some backup support" from herself and Mrs. Semmler.

discrimination

By BOYCE RICHARDSON

GREAT WHALE RIVER — One of Canada's best known Eskimos, Elijah Menarik, of the CBC Northern Service was refused a drink at a private club in this town on the east coast of Hudson Bay in Nouveau Quebec recently. The reason for the refusal was a frankly admitted racial discrimination: Because he is an Eskimo.

The club is the Great Whale River Recreation Association, and it has its premises in the main building of the Quebec government. It was formed to provide recreation for all citizens of Great Whale River, including the native population. But later, a bylaw was added providing that no liquor would be served at the club's bar to Indians or Eskimos and that no liquor should be served in their presence. Thus they are effectively excluded from use of the only bar along this coast — not on the basis of their behavior, but on the basis of race.

This was admitted to me by the club president, Peter Burns, a white man with red hair, who took the decision not to serve Menarik with a drink after a hurried consultation with some other committee members. He is an employee of Pan American Airways, on contract to the National Research Council, which has an establishment at Great Whale River.

He said that a change in the bylaws to that effect was under discussion, but "many of our members have left for the summer," and they would not be able to get enough members to hold a general meeting for some months. This, too, turned out to be not quite so. The required quorum for a general meeting is 10 per cent. The club has 70 members.

Mr. Burns admitted there were "probably" the required seven members in the bar on the evening that Mr. Menarik was refused service.

The irony of it is that Mr. Menarik had just been signed into the club by his cousin Edward Weetaltuk, an Eskimo who works in Great Whale River for the Quebec government. He is a member. "He wrote and asked to be admitted to membership," said Mr. Burns, "and at a directors' meeting we decided that he had assumed sufficient of the white culture to be able to conduct himself in a respectable manner."

Mr. Menarik broadcasts every day to the north in Eskimo, and is known all over the country. For many years he has occupied responsible jobs, inside and out of the government structure. He is a former manager of the CBC station in Inuvik, was a translator with the northern affairs department when the Arctic co-ops were being set up, and spent seven years working in the hospital at Moose Factory, during which time he got to know almost every Eskimo family in Quebec.

Great Whale River (or Poste de la Baleine, as the Quebec government insists on calling it) has 580 Eskimos, 320 Indians and 150 whites. So most of the population is excluded from the club.

There have been other incidents in which members who have taken native people to the club as guests have had their guests turned away.

FAITH IN OURSELVES

In a discussion of Indian values it must be made clear at the outset that there is no such things as a typical Indian or a typical community.

However, there are certain values which many tribes hold in common. A list of Indian values shows nothing completely unique, nothing that some other society in the world does not possess. Their singularity lies in their combination, their forcible effect upon Indian culture, government, and morals. In addition, the Indians accept those new ideas or inventions which may increase his knowledge and make life easier, such as the radio, television, telephone, automobiles, and electrical appliances.

One basic value which has a high survival rate among Indians is their view of nature as an organic whole as opposed to the mechanistic view of the surrounding citizens. That is, Indians strive to work with instead of against nature. Present day man in the majority culture believed he could conquer the elements. He did. But in the process of overcoming one aspect of his environment, he has often destroyed another vital part of the whole, thereby creating new and unmanageable problems. The country is faced with air and water pollution, urban decay, to mention a few.

The Indians' vital, organic attitude toward man's place within the framework of other living creatures has an impact on his actions, thinking, reasoning, judgment, and his ideas of enjoyment, as well as his education and government.

The love of Mother Earth brings with it a sense of peace and harmony between man and the earth and all living things. Indians respect all forms of life, each animal and insect having its place in the universe. When a hunter kills a deer for food, he leaves something in the forest in its place. In the fall when the Indians are picking pinons, they search eagerly for pack rats' nests, where they know will be large stores of nuts. When they take the rats' winter food, they leave wheat or other grain for him to eat in place of the nuts.

Each person in Indian society is born into his place in the community, which brings with it duties and responsibilities which he must perform throughout his life. The white man has to find his own place in his society, and some never find their niche. The Pueblo Indian's education begins at his birth. On the fourth day of age, the child is taken from the house and offered to the Great Spirit and to the outside world. The parents ask that the child be made strong, wise, and understanding and be sympathetic to all living things. When they return to the house, the older people who have attended the ceremony instruct the child's parents what to teach the infant. He has become well-indoctrinated in the Indian ways by about the age of seven.

Each member, old as well as young, has an important part to play in the organization of the tribe. The man who leaves the Pueblo leaves no one to carry on his duties. It is important, therefore, for everyone to remain and function in the Pueblo in order that the Pueblo life go on forever.

This social cohesion, this unity with nature and his fellowmen, has an impact on the Indian's political life. To work closely with the community is considered a civil as well as religious duty. This gives strength and continuity to their culture, and shows itself by the individual's putting himself into the group, and putting the good of the group above his own desires.

The Indian's idea of a he-man is one who works closely with his tribesmen. This spirit of coordination is not like a group of basketball players, or a team of scientists trying to solve a problem, or soldiers with a high esprit de corps going into battle, who each have an object to accomplish. The cohesion does not spring from necessity, but has its roots deep in the culture. It shows in many ways. For example, an Indian furious at his Governor said, "I wanted to hit him so hard it would rock his ancestors, but I held back because I knew I should not strike an officer chosen by my people."

Community cohesiveness can be seen in such traits as lack of competition, sharing, and in their etiquette. A story is told of an old Indian watching some boys running, jumping, and perspiring from a strenuous basketball game. The man asked, "What is the score?" "We are neighbors."

No one goes hungry within an Indian group if there is food available because each family shares with the less fortunate group. Generosity is also emphasized in the "giveaway" dances of the Pueblos, when, at a certain time in the ceremony, the dancers give presents of bread, candy, or yard goods to the spectators.

A Navajo medicine-man said, "I can travel all over the Navajo Reservation and never be without a home. Each clan has a history, and we are all of one family. When I am miles from my hogan, I introduce myself to a stranger and name my clan. He asks me to stay with him and eat. If the traveler is in the hogan of a member of his father's clan, the host will say, "The child has come home and he is welcome."

The feeling of brotherhood is demonstrated by the fact that each Indian takes an oath that strangers and others who enter their reservation will be treated with respect and dignity.

At harvest time, the first fruits of the trees, or the first grains reaped, call for a ritual which is entered into by the whole family, thanking Mother Earth for her gifts.

Indians seek solitude and view leisure as a definite attribute, not something to be shunned for fear of being called "lazy." They can sit under a pine tree and "listen to the song the needles make when the wind blows," or count the ',many shades of blue" in the sky.

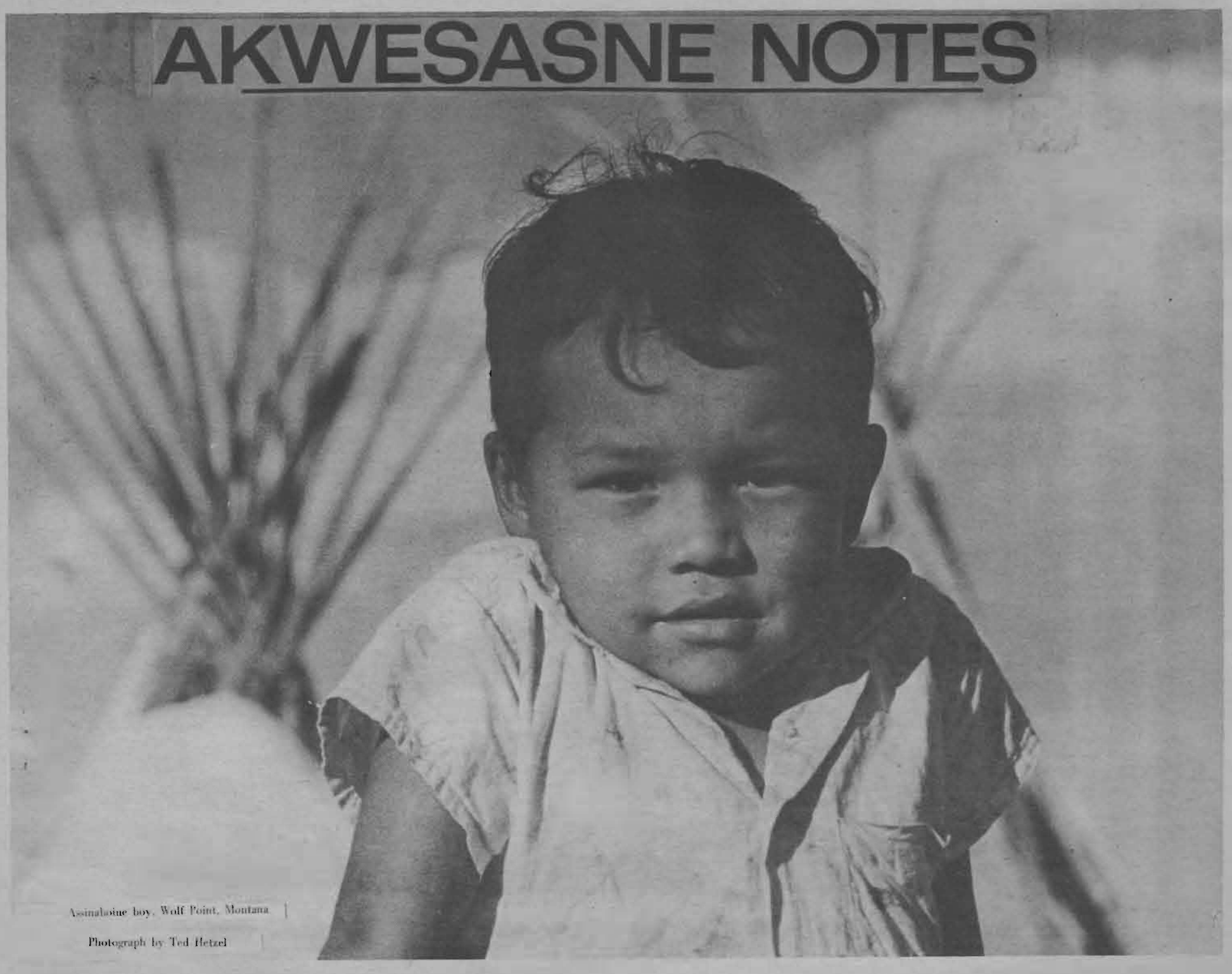
In the field of justice, instead of applying punitive action on a criminal, Indians focus on rehabilitating him. The man who stole a cow is asked by the Pueblo authorities to replace the animal with two cows, one given to the man whose cow he stole, and the other given to the governing body of the village, which has also been injured by the anti-social act.

If a man's arm is broken in a fight, the sentence for the one who caused the injury is to do the work of the injured man until his arm heals.

The Indian does not impose his values on others. They are not missionaries, but they have faith in themselves. Among those Indians who believe and practice their own religion, there is a uniform belief that, during the centuries of living on this continent, they have made a unique adjustment, and that their well-conceived precepts could supply important alternative behavior patterns to the Anglo society. They believe they could mesh their contributions with those of the white society and, given time without harassment, they could produce a model for twenty-first century living. But if they are plunged into a society with which they have little or no familiarity and less interest, they will sink into the morass of the slums.

(by Popovi Da, former governor of San Ildefonso Pueblo, in the Quarterly of the Southwestern Assn. on Indian Affairs)

AKWESASNE NOTES



Assiniboine boy, Wolf Point, Montana

Photograph by Ted Hetzel

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Jon Kyle Richards

died June 17, 1971

aged 19 years

I wanna be an Indian,

I wanna be red.

I wanna be free

or I wanna be dead.

Bias Board Acts

TACOMA NEWS TRIBUNE
FRI., JUNE 25, 1971

Youth Death Spurs Forks' Race Probe

The death of a young Quillayute Indian leader and appeals for action from two of his friends Thursday moved the State Board Against Discrimination to order its staff to "investigate all he racism we uncover" in Forks.

The body of Jon Kyle Richards, 19, was found floating in the basin of LaPush Boat Haven June 17, an apparent suicide. Clallum County officials said preliminary autopsy results established cause of death as drowning, but withheld conclusions pending investigation.

"If Jon Richards' death was anything other than accidental," a friend, Craig Purcer, of Little Boston, told the board Thursday, "this board is to blame."

The board's staff in April investigated the expulsion from Forks High School of Richards and the firing of an instructor, identified Thursday only as "Iverson," because they went to an archeological dig at Ozette over the protests of school authorities, staff investigator Winslow Whitman said.

The pair had been active in attempting to organize an Indian culture club.

The staff found "probable cause to believe discriminatory action" was behind the firing and expulsion, Whitman said.

"Yes, the school is racist," said another friend of Richards', Robert Bouck, of LaPush, executive director of the Quillayute Community Action Program. Bouck resigned effective June 30 in "frustration" at the inability of public agencies to overcome the community's attitudes toward Indians, he said.

In view of Thursday's order to probe the Forks situation, he may reconsider the resignation, he said.

Bouck blamed despondency for Richards' death. He said a note was found in Richards' handwriting with clothes left on a porch a quarter-mile from the water.

"I wanna be an Indian," the youth wrote. "I wanna be red. I wanna be free or I wanna be dead."

The poem was written on the back of a University of Washington Law Day program entitled, "The Red Man and White Man Law," according to news accounts.

Ironically, the board staff had arranged a conciliation agreement with the school providing for the Native American Club to be organized and led by Indian students and for Richards to earn his high school diploma at a college and continue his education there or at Forks High School in the fall.

"He had a good grade-point average," Whitman said.

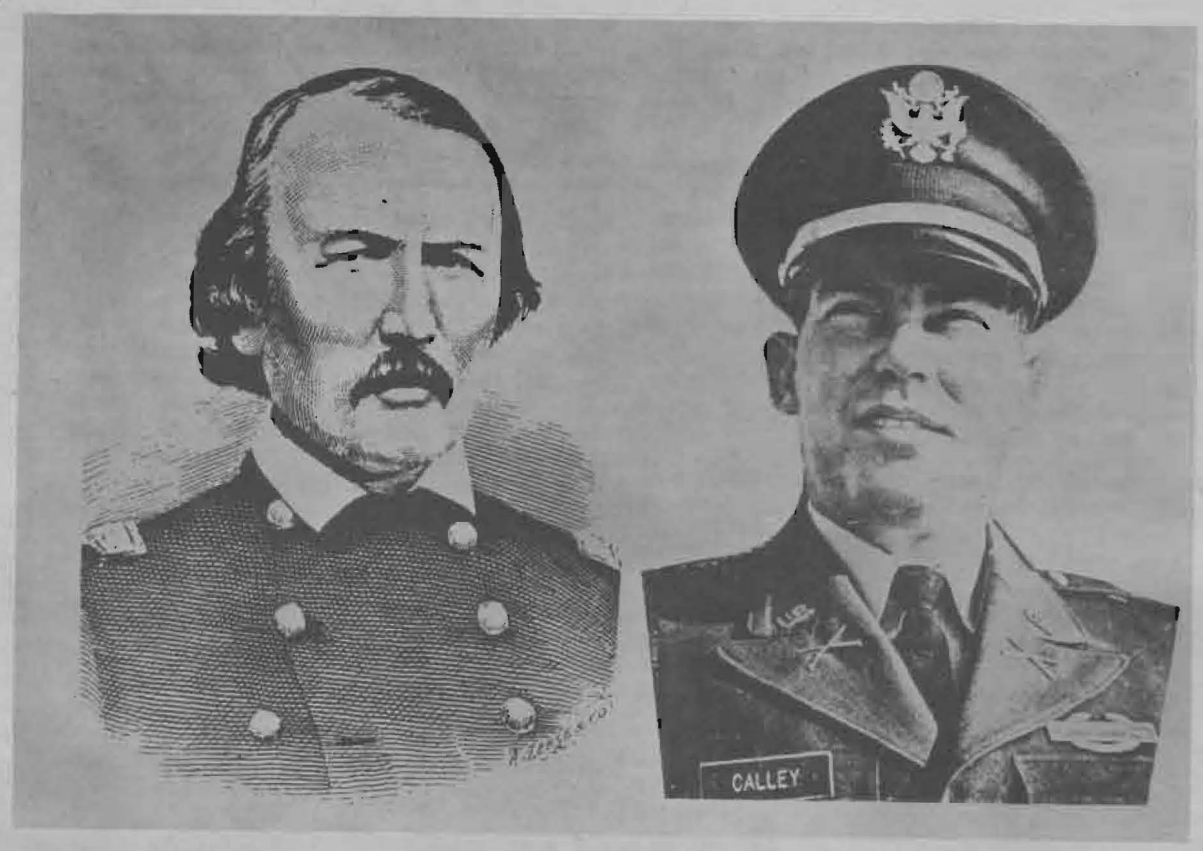
Whitman said the staff was unable to force a remedy for Iverson because it had not been given a notarized complaint. He said Iverson is pursuing civil action.

Alfred E. Cowles, executive secretary of the Board Against Discrimination, charged that "in this particular town (Forks) we have a very racist situation in the school in the maltreatment of Indians."

He said it is "a serious matter that does require top priority . . . a death resulted from discriminatory action."

HISTORY
you never
got in
class, etc.

40



LIEUTENANT WILLIAM CALLEY, MEET KIT CARSON

by John Nichols

Once upon a time there was a little boy who wanted to grow up to be a soldier and serve his country in whatever way he could.
He would parade around the house with a saucepan on his head for a helmet, a wooden sword in one hand, and the American flag in the other.
As he grew up he put away the things of a child, but he never let go of the flag.

Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley
Julian Wilson-James M. Smith

All his ideas were childlike, traditional, unquestioned beliefs. He believed in God, in the right, in courage, honor, integrity, the sanctity of pure women. He believed in justice and mercy, and thought he knew them when he saw them.

Kit Carson, The Happy Warrior of the Old West, Stanley Vestal

During the part of my childhood I spent in Virginia, we had a neighbor who'd been in the Marines during World War II. One day he told me that it had been common practice for him and his men to cut off the balls of Japanese prisoners, then stew them and eat them. He didn't tell me this to horrify me: he just wanted to titillate me a little. It was the sort of thing that had happened frequently in the war–and as I recall, it also proved that the Marines were tough sons of bitches, and that cutting off and eating Asian testicles was–as Lieutenant Calley said not long ago about the slaughter of women and children at My Lai–"No big deal."

My first reaction to the My Lai massacre, in light of the above, is pretty much the same as Lt. Calley's: It *was* no big deal. And I think if we are to judge Calley in light of American history, then there is little ground for finding him guilty of anything except patriotism.

In "The Merry-Go-Round," a syndicated column by Jack Anderson published recently in the Santa Fe *New Mexican*, the headline asked: LT. CALLEY A FOLK HERO OR MASS MURDERER? Of course, the answer is that he is both. Because throughout a certain strain of American history the two have been almost synonymous. A vivid example of a Calley-type folk hero is Kit Carson, who is practically the patron saint of the town in which I live, Taos, New Mexico. Yet among other things, this legendary Indian fighter was responsible for laying waste to all Navajo livestock, crops, orchards, and dwelling places in order to starve the Indians into submission in preparation for their infamous "long walk" across New Mexico to the Bosque Redondo where they were kept jailed, sick, starving, and spiritually dying for five years. In his book *The New Indians*, Stan Steiner tells of an old Navajo at Fort Defiance who "told of how the 'Long Knives of Kit Carson,' so named by the Indians because of their bayonets, would also cut off the breasts of Navajo girls. These heroes of the west would then toss the severed breasts back and forth like baseballs."

Yet Taos, a town which to a large degree depends for its livelihood on the exploitation of the local Indian culture, brandishes Carson's name like an obscene middle finger to the faces of those Indians, placing his name on an electrical co-op, a drive-in movie theater, a radio station, a national forest, a town park, a major road, and so forth, as oblivious to the grotesque nature of its hero worship as is, say, the town of Santa Fe to the obscenity of having a monument in its central plaza dedicated to those heroes who died trying to exterminate New Mexico's "savage Indians."

In a recent column in the *Albuquerque Journal*, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, in commenting about the Calley conviction, said, "America has been a great nation in the eyes of most of us, for we felt that history could prove it had cleaner hands. Lt. Calley's hands were dirty. We could either notice this or suffer our country to diminish."

This theme of America as a Great Nation, which must be restored to its greatness after the unfortunate Calley debacle, has been echoed in a large portion of the public reaction to the Calley trial. People honestly horrified by My Lai feel that Calley's action was an aberration, something very much outside of the norm for America and American behavior. For example, an Army lifer of 20 years, Hugo W. Holzmann, wrote a letter to the Denver *Post* in which he said, "The name of our Army has been disgraced by Lt. Calley and his platoon. This court martial will at least show the decent Americans and the world that mass-murder is not condoned by the U.S. Army." Later in his letter, Mr. Holzmann characterized "the positive values of the American society" as being "fairness, compassion, mercy, the right of others to their pursuit of life and happiness."

The Denver *Post* itself claimed that "the principles on which this nation was founded demand nothing less than the conviction of Calley."

But the sad thing is, of course, that the Vietnam war and the My Lai massacre are a direct outcome of some of our nation's founding principles and most sacred policies. Just how much compassion, fairness, and mercy were included in the founding principles can be seen in the near extinction of the Indians.

When white men first began to settle America, it was estimated that there were about 1,100,000 Indians in North America north of Mexico. By 1870 there were 25,731 of these people left. And perhaps the earliest example of the compassion and fair play that were to become the United States of America's founding principles can be found in the actions of Christopher Columbus, who repaid the friendly people of the West Indies by immediately sending 500 of them to be sold into slavery in Spain. Within 10 years of the first white landings, the Indian population of Puerto Rico had been reduced by about ninety percent.

In her book *A Century of Dishonor*, Helen Hunt Jackson related not only an endless violation of treaties with the Indians by Father Washington, but she also recounted several of the numerous massacres of Indians that were commonplace occurrences throughout the growth of this nation. One massacre took place in 1763 near Philadelphia, when a gang of whites known as the Paxton Boys descended upon a village of friendly Conestoga Indians, and laid waste to the six Indians they found at home – three men, two women, and a boy. "These poor defenseless creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed, and hatcheted to death. . .All of them were scalp and otherwise horribly mangled, then their huts were set on fire, and most of them burnt down."

The few Conestogas who were not at home during this raid were rounded up by the authorities and placed in the Lancaster jail for "safekeeping." The Paxton Boys simply rode up to the jail, broke open the doors, and wiped out the rest of the Indians. A contemporary account of the scene after the Paxton Boys rode off went like so:

"Toward the middle of the jail-yard, along the westside of the wall, lay a stout Indian whom I particularly noticed to have been shot in his breast. His legs were chopped with the tomahawk, his hands cut off, and finally a rifle-ball discharged to his mouth, so that his head was blown to atoms, and the brains were splashed against and yet hanging to the wall for three or four feet around. This man's hands and feet had been chopped off with the tomahawk. In this manner lay the whole of them – men, women, and children, spread about the prison yard, shot, scalped, hacked, and cut to pieces."

One of America's finest folk heroes, Andrew Jackson, used Choctaw Indians in his fight against the Creek Indians, and again he used Choctaws to win lasting fame and a shot at the Presidency in the Battle of New Orleans. As a reward for their loyalty, Old Hickory promised that "pegs would be drive, and lines marked, never to be obliterated," in protection of the Choctaw nation. These words were still warm on Jackson's lips when he became President and pushed the Indian Removal Act through Congress and signed it, forcing the Choctaws from their rich lands in the Mississippi hill country westward into Oklahoma, which territory, according to M.M. Quaife in his introduction to General George Armstrong Custer's book, "My Life on the Plains," was thought to be a "desert unfit for civilized inhabitants," thus "the surviving remnants of numerous eastern tribes were granted new homes in this area, which was conceived as a permanent Indian preserve."

Jackson was also responsible for the forced removal of the Cherokee Nation to this "desert", a forced march in the dead of winter during which one quarter – 4,000 of the 16,000 – Cherokees died. When told of the plight of the Indians, Jackson replied, "I favor leaving the poor deluded Cherokees to their fate and their annihilation."

When Martin Van Buren was elected to the Presidency on Old Hickory's heels, he echoed Jackson's policies, saying, "No state can achieve proper culture, civilization, and progress in safety as long as the Indians are permitted to remain."

In 1829, the Mexican government abolished slavery: but a bitter protest from the American settlers in the Texas area of Mexico prohibited the Mexican government from enforcing the decree there. Nineteen years later, when James Polk sent General Zachary Taylor and some troops beyond the Nueces River, which Mexico recognized as the Texas border, the Mexicans, considering it an invasion, fired on U.S. troops, and the war had begun. It was not unopposed in Congress. Abraham Lincoln, for one, was very much opposed. On the floor of the House, Joshua R. Giddings condemned the war as a "war against an unoffending people, without adequate or just cause, for the purpose of conquest; with the design of extending slavery; in violation of the Constitution, against the dictates of justice, humanity, the sentiments of the age in which we live, and the precepts of the religion which we profess. I will not bathe my hands in the blood of the people of Mexico, nor will I participate in the guilt of those murders which have been and will hereafter be committed by our army there."

Sound familiar? Thus went America's relations with anyone standing in the way of her Manifestly Destined right to own anything that struck her fancy, no matter who it belonged to.

After the Civil War, when the Indian Territory was discovered to be desirable farm and ranchland, General Sheridan, whose orders were to "pacify" the area, considered that "there are no good Indians but dead Indians." General Custer was pretty much of the same opinion. He considered the Indian ". . .a savage in every sense of the word. . . one whose cruel and ferocious nature far exceeds that of any wild beast of the desert. . . In him we will find the representative of. . .a race incapable of being judged by the rules or laws applicable to any other known race of men. . ."

With this sort of attitude guiding our relations with the Indians, it was not surprising that Rutherford B. Hayes told Congress in 1877, "Many if not most of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises

and acts of injustices on our part."

In the "New Indians", Stan Steiner says, "One hundred years, almost to the day, after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the New York Times reported on July 7, 1876, that there were those in the War Department, mostly "high officers" who advocated the policy of extermination of the Indians, and "think the speedier, the better its accomplishment." The Indian Wars, were wars of "annihilation" to these officers, wrote the Times.

Going back a few years, in 1871, the Congress of the United States ended a vicious charade by passing an act saying that henceforth no Indian tribe within the United States territory would ever again be recognized as a a power entitled to make treaties. That same year, Columbus Delano became Secretary of the Interior and made it his personal vision to make sure that the western farmers got the whole of the Great Plains for their agricultural ventures. In his annual report for 1872, he remarked:

"In our intercourse with the Indians, it must always be borne in mind that we are the most powerful party. We are assuming, and I think with propriety, that our civilization ought to take the place of their barbarous habits. We therefore claim the right to control the soil which they occupy, and we assume that it is our duty to coerce them, if necessary, into the adoption and practice of our habits and customs. "

The next thing Delano did was to support the Buffalo hunters who were piling onto the buffalo range, on the theory that once his source of food was exhausted, the Indian would either starve to death or wind up a broken race on the reservation. A few voices in Congress were raised against starving the Indians into agrarianism, much as a few voices were raised a hundred years later against the policies of bombing and defoliating South Vietnam to the point where the natives would be neatly collected in refugee camps (read "reservation or concentration camp") and at the mercy of the U.S.A., who would henceforth supply them with their daily rations of rice.

In his book, "The Hunting of the Buffalo", E. Douglas Branch attributed these words to one of the congressmen in favor of doing away with the buffalo: "There is no law which human hands can write,, there is no law which a congress of men can enact, that will stay the appearance of these wild animals before civilization. They eat the grass. They trample the plains. They are as uncivilized as the Indian."

Such a successful campaign was waged against the buffalo that by 1875, the huge southern herd had ceased to exist. By the spring of 1884, the northern herd was gone as well, and Yankee "civilization" had once again accomplished what it can do so well: it had explored, exploited, exhausted, and now it was ready to move on.

In the meantime, the U.S. Army had been doing its thing. According to Stan Steiner, "Brig. General James H. Carleton, commander of the U.S. Army's Department of New Mexico, proclaimed it his policy to "Exterminate the Indians' His orders to his troops read: 'Kill every male Navajo and Apache you can find. ' " Cash bounties were offered for Apache scalps.

Carleton's orders were handed down to Taos' own Kit Carson, who promptly went into Navajo country to starve the Indians into submission. In one dispatch from the Canyon de Cheely, Carson reported, "They [the Indians] have no stock, and were depending entirely for subsistence on the corn destroyed by my command the previous day, the loss of which will cause actual starvation. . ." And in another dispatch, "I sent the party to return through the canyon, from west to east, that all the peach orchards, of which there are many, should be destroyed as well as the dwellings of the Indians."

One time General Carleton wrote to Carson, advising him to tell any Navajos he happened to capture: "Go to the Bosque Redondo, or we will pursue and destroy you. We will not make any peace with you on any other terms." These are basically the exact words that are told to the Vietnamese when they are given the choice of our refugee camps or staying in their own villages and being bombed into oblivion.

The last big massacre of the Indians, forgetting for the moment what our society has done, or has tried to do to the tribes culturally, and spiritually since then, was at Wounded Knee, where Seventh Cavalry troops, surrounding a village of Sioux who had surrendered to Major S.M. Whitside, fired their rifles and several Hotchkiss guns point blank into the village, killing at least 84 men and boys, 44 women, and 16 young children. According to George Metcalf, in an article published in the book, "Great Western Indian Fights":

"Many of the women and children fled for protection to the shallow gully which leads back toward the hills. Here they hid, crouching low. Scouts, urged on by soldiers, called to them. 'Come out. We do not make war on women and children.' Two small boys climbed out, and fell under a hail of bullets....

"Many observers mention the body of a woman which lay at the foot of the pole on which the Indians' white flag waved. All speak of the huddled groups of women and children lying dead in the gully, and of the shell-torn bodies of others, killed as they fled up the ravine after all resistance had ceased."

Of course, once Indians were all but effectively annihilated, Americans did not sit back to review the situation and perhaps do a little soul-searching on the side. It was only eight years between the massacre at Wounded Knee and the Spanish - American War. In his book, "The Arrogance of Power", Senator William Fulbright sheds some light on the American attitudes of the day:

"The spirit of the times was expressed by Albert Beveridge, soon thereafter to be elected to the United States Senate, who proclaimed Americans to be a "conquering race"; 'We must obey our blood and occupy new markets and if necessary, new lands,' he said, because 'In the Almighty's infinite plan. . .debased civilizations and decaying races must disappear 'before the higher civilizations of the nobler and more virile types of man.' "

In the April 24, 1971, New Republic, D.B. Schirmer told of how the Phillippine coutnryside was more or less razed by emissaries from these "nobler types of men," American soldiers who ". . .took no prisoners, kept no records; they simply swept over the country and wherever or however they got hold of a Filipino, they killed him." In 1902, a Major Littleton Waller (continued above) who was courtmartialed for shooting 11 defenseless Filipinos on the Island of Samar, put all blame for his action on his Brigadier General Smith. "The Maj. [Waller] said that Gen. Smith instructed him to kill and burn, and said that the more he killed and burned the better pleased he would be; that it was no time to take prisoners, and that he was to make Samar a howling wilderness. Maj. Waller asked Gen. Smith to define the age limit for killing, and he replied, 'Everything over ten.' "

So much for the lineage of Lt. William Calley and his superiors and the people who sent them across the seas. What it has all added up to in Vietnam is the following:

According to Jonathon Schell in his book *The Military Half*, at least 70% of the 450 hamlets in Quangnai province have been destroyed by American firepower. In a book review in the New York *Times* March 28, 1971, Neil Sheehan mentioned that a conservative estimate of the civilians we were killing in Vietnam was 68 a day, and he told about classified military documents that specifically talked "about bombing villages in communist held areas 'to deprive the enemy of the population resource.' " A subcommittee headed by Ted Kennedy recently estimated that our attacks in Cambodia had produced a million and a half refugees: this out of a population of 6.5 million. On a question and answer page of *Parade Magazine* for April 11, 1971, a man asked, "Does anyone know accurately how many of the enemy, civilian and military, we have killed in Indochina since we intervened in the conflict there?—" and *Parade* rather casually replied: "Such figures are estimates. The U.S. Defense Department on Feb. 25, 1971 declared that our side has killed 703,481 of the enemy forces, presumably military, since Jan. 1961. *We may well have killed another million or two civilians* throughout South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia." (Italics mine.)

Two quotations might help to link up Vietnam with the attitudes Americans have had since they landed on the eastern seabord, proclaimed themselves a God-chosen, Manifestly Destined people, and proceeded to gobble up or exterminate all the "inferior peoples" who lay in the way of their quest for Hitlerian *Lebensraum*. An article about Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker (another folk hero), printed in the New York *Post* back in 1967, said Rickenbacker "asserts that the United States should bomb the ports, dams, and population of North Vietnam. 'That's what airplanes are made for,' the World War II flying ace said in an interview. 'You're not fighting human beings over there—you're just fighting two-legged animals.' "

In 1967, John Sack, a reporter who is now about to really hit the big time as Lt. Calley's ghost writer-editor, published a book called *M*, in which he followed a company of G.I.'s from the start of their training in the States through to their combat in Vietnam. The book ends with one of the soldiers, a man named Demergian, voicing the thought: *I'd like to burn the whole country down and start again with Americans.*

For anyone who still doubts the racist brutality of American expansion over the years, the Winter Soldiers Investigation held recently in Detroit should have dispelled his reservations. On Feb. 28, 1971, *El Grito del Norte* picked up on the story of the Investigation, which the rest of the New Mexico press chose conveniently to ignore. According to *El Grito*, this was the story told by an ex-Marine sergeant Scott Camil, holder of the Vietnam Cross of Gallantry, the Silver Star, and two Purple Hearts:

"On Operation Stone, I saw two people get their heads cut off and the heads placed on sticks and planted in the middle of the field. Then we were told that the press was in the area and to get rid of them. I saw a Marine shoot a Vietnamese while he was defecating. He cut off his head and his genitals. I saw one Vietnamese staked into the ground and cut open while he was alive with another Vietnamese being forced to watch. The first one's intestines were pulled out until he died. They told the other one if he didn't talk, the same thing would happen to him.

"Since they are getting so scarce, why don't we preserve the buffalo and hunt the white man?"

After he did talk, they put a .45 to his head and shot him.

"I saw a woman who was shot by a sniper, lying on the ground when we reached her. She was asking for water. 'Kill her,' the 1st Lieutenant told us. She was stripped naked and stabbed through both breasts and a trenching tool handle was shoved up her. She was still asking for water and bleeding when they took the tool out and shoved a tree limb up her. Then they cut her throat. She still wasn't dead. The Lieutenant told someone to shoot her. I shot her."

On August 12, 1969, *Look* magazine did an issue on American Militarism. In it was an article entitled "Incident at Van Duong," by Jack Shepherd. It is about some Marines who killed five Vietnamese civilians. Four of them were simply bumped into on a patrol, cold bloodedly executed, and dumpted into a river. The fifth was hung. "They stood the man on a wooden backless chair. Allen put the noose around the man's neck, and Belknap kicked the chair out from under him. The Vietnamese fell straight down, his toes scraping the floor, spinning with the twisted rope, gagging. Allen kicked him in the groin. Belknap kicked him in the chest. Licciardo kicked at him and missed and everyone laughed and then he kicked him in the side of the face. Lance Corporal Guenot, in the cluster of marines inside the building, saw blood come out of the man's eyes, nose and mouth. Licciardo hit the man over the head with a sandbag and the rope broke.

"Denzil went outside to his cartridge belt near the CP bunker and got the ten-inch bowie knife his father had bought. He went back in the building and stabbed the Vietnamese man in the chest, twisting the knife. The man still breathed. Allen then slit his throat with a slashing motion . . .

"Licciardo and Allen helped drag the man's body out to the river and threw it in . . . The marines started laughing and shouting again, tossing grenades into the water. Denzil remembers 20 minutes of bedlam, exploding grenades, rifle fire. One body, in a green shirt, blew up out of the water, its left leg hooking on a steel rod protruding from the cement piling, hanging upside down, head gone, chest caved in. Corporal Pruitt made a C-4 charge with a blasting cap and time fuse. Licciardo put it on the leg of the body, and yelled the warning, 'Fire in the hole! . . . ' "

When, after nine years in Vietnam, the director of the International Voluntary Services in Vietnam, Don Luce, quit his post in 1967, he explained his action by saying, "I could not become part of the destruction of a people I love. It's become unbearable to witness the destruction of Vietnamese family life, the home, the agricultural system, the transportation. We're defeating ourselves here."

With the foregoing but a minute fraction of the evidence that can be gathered on the conduct of American history, it is very surprising that Calley ever came to trial, given the lack of precedent for such a move throughout our history. I recall how Claude Eatherly, the pilot of the lead plane over Hiroshima, the man who gave the Okay to drop the first atom bomb, begged to be put on trial, and America refused to do it. Instead, Bob Hope productions wanted to make a movie of his life, Claude Eatherly being played by Audie Murphy. Eatherly was appalled. There is every indication that Lt. Calley will have no such qualms. Already he and his ghost writer-editor John Sack have received a $100,000 dollar advance for the My Lai story. This does not include payments Calley and Sack will receive for overseas, serialization, and paperback rights. The publisher, Thomas Guinzberg, president of Viking Press, Inc. recently said, "We've been getting a lot of inquiries from overseas." He also told of a "huge" upsurge in orders since a military tribunal sentenced Calley to life. He estimated the advance orders at around 30,000 copies. But that's the way it goes in America, the country that was the first to build, and the only nation ever to use on civilians, an instant holocaust machine.

Lt. Calley is an American hero. He is as American as Mom and Apple Pie, he is as red blooded as Little League baseball, Schwinn bicycles, Cokes, and Kit Carson.

how to influence people

AUGUST 1971

"We Hopis have been here for many years. We have our own religion that teaches us how to live in harmony with Nature and with each other. The White man comes and tries to make us into Christians. The Christians believe in manmade things but forgot about natural things. And so everything is falling apart.

"If the White man would stop trying to teach us Christianity and begin to listen to what the Great Spirit taught the Hopis, then everything would get back in harmony with Nature. As it is, the White man is destroying this country."

Silas - Hopi

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1953 House Concurrent Resolution 108 adopted. The start of the "Termination" policy to end relationships of federal government with Indian tribes. 1970 A group of Puyallup Indians led by the Elected Tribal Council and Bob Satiacum set up a camp on the Puyallup River and began fishing in order to establish their tribal fishing rights once again. **1**	1675 Boston, Mass. authorities shocked by the Nipmuck attack on the town of Mendon sent a mission to the Nipmucks to try to commit them to peace but they were attacked in an ambush by the Nipmucks. The survivors fled to Brookfield which was immediately beseiged for 48 hours. 1867 Some 1,000 Oglalas and other Sioux under their leader Hump attacked Fort Phil Kearney. **2**	1778 Nimham, chief of the Wappinger Indians, who lived along the Hudson River in New York State tried to recover Indian land from the English. He fought on the American side during the American Revolution and was killed at the Battle of Kingsbridge on this date. 1832 Massacre of Sauk followers of the great patriot Black Hawk. **3**	1953 Public Law 280 presented to the President---provided for transfer of civil and criminal jurisdiction to California, Nebraska, Minnesota, Oregon, Wisconsin on reservations with consultation, not consent, of the tribes affected. **4**	1763 The Battle of Bushy Run---a British force led by Colonel Bouquet defeated the forces of Pontiac and lifted the seige put upon Fort Pitt. **5**	**6**	1790 Treaty of New York: although no complete surrender, the Creek Indians ceded strips of land between Ogeechee and Oconee Rivers and received perpetual guarantee to their remaining hunting grounds. A guarantee not kept. 1970 Calton Brass, an Indian ex-convict in British Columbia, was believed murdered by prison officials. It started a minor riot at the penitentiary. **7**
8	1877 Battle of the Big Hole: In the predawn hours, on a sleeping Nez Perce village of old men, women and children as well as about 260 warriors, the militia and volunteer whites opened fire. The Indians continued their flight to Montana. **9**	1680 Pope, Tewa Pueblo leader, led Pueblos in attack of Spanish in an attempt to restore Pueblo way of life. Over 400 Spaniards were killed. **10**	1961 National Indian Youth Council founded. **11**	1676 Death of Metacomet (King Philip). Betrayed by Alderman, an Indian. The troops decapitated and quartered the body of King Philip and his head was stuck on a pole and displayed publicly in Plymouth for 25 years. To Alderman, Benjamin Church gave Philip's scarred hand. It was the Indian's reward for betraying his leader and for months Alderman made it pay by exhibiting it in a pail of rum. **12**	1521 End of the battle for Tlaxcala. The Aztecs against Cortez and his men. It lasted approximately 85 days. It is estimated that the Aztecs lost 117,000 men. The survivors (excluding women and children) were estimated at 30,000. 1946 Indian Claims Commission established. **13**	1680 News came that a war party of 500 Tewa Indians was finally marching on Santa Fe. **14**
1846 General Kearney occupied Sante Fe. While Kearney made a speech promising New Mexicans protection from all Indians, Indians drove off several hundred head of the Army's horses and mules. 1876 The U.S. Congress on this date passed a law allowing the Powder River Country and the Black Hills to be stolen from the Sioux Nations. This land grab was not covered by treaty. **15**	**16**	1765 Britain signs peace treaty with Pontiac. 1813 Blacksnake, a chief of the Seneca, fought on the side of the Americans in the Battle of Fort George on this date. **17**	1862 Little Crow, chief of the Sioux, first broke peace with the whites after removal to a reservation in Minnesota. War was waged along a 200 mile front. **18**	**19**	1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers: Tecumseh's Indian scouts along with the Shawnee, Blue Jacket, commander of the united 1400 warriors met Major General Anthony Wayne in a large clearing along the Maumee River. The Indians retreated to a British fort lower down the Maumee River. The British allies at Fort Miami closed the gates against them. **20**	1680 Despite their victory over the 2500 natives' attack on Santa Fe, the Spanish fled, hoping to find safety in the Spanish colonies lower down the Rio Grande. Their hopes were dashed as they found dead Spaniards and burned ranches everywhere. In El Paso they were finally able to rest. 1720 A force of Pawnees attacked a Spanish force led by Pedro de Villasur. Out of over 500 Spaniards, only 13 escaped. **21**
22	1862 Sioux attacked the Big Stone Trading Post, 70 miles south of Fort Abercrombie, in retaliation for the lack of annuity payments from the government. The Indians were near starving while the government agents had absconded with food supplies, money, etc. 1954 Act passed terminating federal supervision of Klamath Reservation in Oregon. **23**	1970 Nearly 50 Indians, representing several tribes, took over Mount Rushmore National Memorial in the Black Hills. They are there to protest policies on the return of nearby Sioux land that was taken for a gunnery range in World War II, to press for a speedy settlement of the Sioux's claim to the Black Hills, to denounce racism and to demand a hearing with Walter J. Hickel (Secretary of the Interior) on Indian issues. **24**	1676 Quinapen, Weetamoo's (King Philip's sister-in-law) fifth husband was put to death by the English in Newport, Rhode Island on this date. He was a leading warrior of the Swamp Fight. 1689 The Iroquois attacked Montreal. **25**	**26**	**27**	1676 Anawon, King Philip's chief captain, and other stragglers from Philip's group were captured in a section of Rehoboth, Mass. **28**
1907 "The Disaster": 35 Caughnawaga Mohawks killed when a span of the Quebec Bridge on which they were working collapsed. **29**	1645 Kitchawant (meaning "at the great mountain") a tribe of the Wappinger Indians who formerly lived along the east bank of the Hudson River in New York state made peace treaty with the Dutch on this date. **30**	1778 Indians (Mohawks) under Joseph Brant engage with U.S. troops. 1779 Runonvea, an Iroquoian town burned by General Sullivan on this date. It was located near "Big Flats" in Chemung County, New York. 1970 Lumbee Indians of North Carolina refused to send their children to newly integrated schools to prevent "anglication". **31**			

Fathers, fathers, fathers, hear me well. Call back your young men from the mountains of the bighorn sheep. They have run over our country; they have destroyed the growing wood and the green grass; they have set fire to our lands. Fathers, your young men have devastated the country and killed my animals, the elk, the deer, the antelope, my buffalo. They do not kill them to eat them; they leave them to rot where they fall. Fathers, if I went into your country to kill your animals, what would you say? Should I not be wrong, and would you not make war on me?

Bear Tooth - Crow

THIS CALENDAR will be published in 1972 by White Roots of Peace. It will have photos, art work, and additional material. Readers are invited to send in additional dates to be remembered, explanations of events, and suggestions to the people who are undertaking this project for AKWESASNE NOTES:

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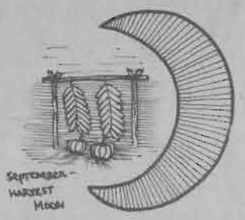

SEPT 1971

The Black Hills is my land
And I love it
And whoever interferes
Will hear this gun
Anonymous

The Great Spirit raised both the white man and the Indian. I think he raised the Indian first. He raised me in this land and it belongs to me. The white man was raised over the great waters, and his land is over there. Since they crossed the sea, I have given them room. There are now white people all about me. I have but a small spot of land left. The Great Spirit told me to keep it.

Mahpiua Luta (Red Cloud), Oglala Sioux
1865

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1877 On this date the great leader Crazy Horse was murdered at Fort Robinson by soldiers while they attempted to imprison him in the stockade. Crazy Horse resisted the white man all his life and only the starvation and suffering of his people caused him to surrender. He had never been beaten in battle. 5	6	1763 Sir William Johnson enters in council of friendship with the Iroquois Confederacy. 1855 Pizhiki, a chief of the Chippewa of Wisconsin, also known as Buffalo by the whites, died on this date. At one time, he lived at what is now Buffalo, New York. 7	1641 Attack on Staten Island by the Raritans. 1865 400 Sioux and Cheyenne warriors led by Sitting Bull attack a force of 2,000 soldiers led by Col. Cole and Walker and drove the soldiers south, inflicting much damage on them. 1884 Haskell Institute opened as Indian Training School at Lawrence, Kansas with an enrollment of 14 pupils. 1	1826 George M. Troup, Governor of Georgia, proclaimed that his state would be occupying Creek lands on this date in violation of the Treaty of Washington. 1879 Carlisle barracks transferred by War Department to the Interior Department for Indian school purposes. 2	1855 General W. S. Harney attacked Brules camp at Blue Water Creek, just off the North Platte, east of Fort Laramie, killing nearly 100 and taking many women and children captive. 3	1638 3 white men, Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson and Richard Stinnings were hanged for the murder and robbery of a Narragansett Indian boy. 1841 Pre-emption Act: throws West open to settlement without protection to Indian lands. 1886 Geronimo, Apache, and his band surrendered and were sent to Fort Augustine, Florida as prisoners of war. 4
 12	1621 Date of treaty of peace supposedly signed by Obbatinua, a Massachusetts sachem with Myles Standish...the date of the treaty is 8 days before Obbatinua's first meeting with Standish. Treaty was signed in Plymouth. 1888 Six Nations chiefs, by a large majority, approved the system of having hereditary chiefs instead of council men. 13	14	15	1868 Battle of Beecher Island: combined attack by Sioux, Northern Cheyennes and Arapahos killed 5 and wounded 18 out of a party of 51 led by Major Forsyth. However in this battle, the great Cheyenne dog soldier, Roman Nose, was mortally wounded. 1893 100,000 home seekers invaded the 6,000,000 acre Cherokee Outlet which was Indian land. 16	1969 6 Indians from Red Cliff Reservation in Washington were arrested for fishing on Lake Superior. 17	1675 Wampanoag-Nipmuck coalition of King Philip's followers trapped a provision train in the Connecticut River Valley and killed 68 colonists, "the very flower of the country" as one chronicler said. 1763 More than 300 Senecas struck at the supply line to Detroit and ambushed a wagon train and a troop of soldiers on the portage road around Niagra Falls killing 72 officers and men. 18
1790 United Indian Nations declare war against U.S. (Mingos, Miami, Wyandot, Delaware, Potawatomi, Shawnee, Chippewa and Ottawa) 1970 59 arrested by Tacoma, Washington police in a fishing camp on the Puyallup Reservation land. Charges ranged from misdemeanor (bail $10), failure to disperse (max. sentence 90 days or $250 fine) to felony (conviction could result in sentences of 20 or more years). 19	20	1906 Chief Joseph, Nez Perces, died in exile in Nespelem, Washington. 21	1783 Acting under the 9th Ammendment, the U.S. claimed sole right to regulate trade and affairs of Indians who are not members of a state. It prohibited all persons or states from making settlements on lands inhabited or claimed by Indians or accepting land gifts without consent of the U.S. government. 1970 Puyallup Indians set up another camp along the Puyallup River in defiance of authorities and a court injunction. 22	1969 Washington State's Sportsmen's Council passed a resolution asking that Governor Evans and State Fisheries Director Tollefson rescind the special agreements with Indians and declared that if they did not do so the council would initiate legal action. 23	1824 General Council, Cherokee Nation, passed a law making it unlawful for a white man living in the Nation to have more than one wife and make use of her property without her consent. 24	 25
26	1850 Oregon Donation Land Law passed: authorized each settler to receive 320 acres and 320 acres for wife with no regard to Indian ownership. 1909 "Willie Boy Manhunt" begins. Willie Boy, a Paiute, killed an elderly man and took his daughter as his wife and began his flight across the desert on foot. 27	1675 King Philip's followers attacked Northampton, Massachusetts. 1970 Indians of Alcatraz received a 30 kilowatt generator to compensate for the Nixon administration power cut-off. 28	1642 Rene Goupil, French "Missionary"-spy for the French was killed by the Mohawks. 1875 American Horse, an Oglala Sioux chief who fought with Sitting Bull in the Sioux war, was killed at Slim Buttes in South Dakota. He was a signer of the treaty which was secured by the Crook commission. 29	THIS CALENDAR will be published in 1972 by White Roots of Peace. It will have photos, art work, and additional material. Readers are invited to send in additional dates to be remembered, explanations of events, and suggestions to the people who are undertaking this project for AKWESASNE NOTES: Doug & Connie Bradway 37 Fort Street Springfield, Massachusetts 30		

Fight Develops Over Land Development

By WAYNE S. SCOTT
Of the Journal's
Santa Fe Bureau

SANTA FE — A newly formed organization, unhappy with a well-advertised land development north of Santa Fe, charged Tuesday that the Tesuque Indian Pueblo does not have the right to allow use of as much water by the development as it has granted. It also accused the developers — Colonias de Santa Fe — of misleading advertising in mentioning water studies conducted by the U.S. Geological Survey and the New Mexico State Engineer.

A spokesman for the development firm promptly declared that the pueblo is committed in writing to allow use of the water, even if it has to reduce the acreage it now cultivates.

The charge and answer brought again to the spotlight one of the biggest controversies over to develop over a land subdivision in New Mexico. It is over Colonias de Santa Fe subdivision, on lands of the Tesuque Indian Pueblo about 10 miles north of Santa Fe.

Developer of the Tesuque Indian land is Sangre de Cristo Corp. (Colonias de Santa Fe). Great Western Cities is the developer on the Cochiti land south of Santa Fe.

The city and county of Santa Fe are involved in a legal suit with Sangre de Cristo Corp. the city and county claim they have planning and platting jurisdiction over the Colonias de Santa Fe development. The firm claims the city and county cannot have jurisdiction on Indian land.

The master lease, on file in the Santa Fe county clerk's office, did reserve water "rights" to the pueblo — but authorizes use by the development of up to 450 acre feet per year. Another provision states the limitation of 450 acre feet applies only if a court limits the amount of water to which the pueblo may claim a right.

EGAN TUESDAY admitted this provision was in the lease. But he maintained the pueblo has a right only to 966 acre feet per year, and has no extra water to give away.

Fred Standley, stockholder and spokesman for the Sangre de Cristo Co., pointed out the lease grants use of 450 acre feet of water annually, whether the total amount of water the pueblo can have is limited or not.

"The group that is making the assault on us is dedicated to maintaining all the Indians as a living archeological exhibit," Standley charged. "The Tesuque Indians will derive substantial benefit, and revenue, from this development."

The Sangre de Cristo Development Co. was incorporated Sept. 13, 1968, by Standley, W. R. Kegel and Santiago E. Campos, then Santa Fe law partners. The partnership has since dissolved. Campos is now a district judge here. Kegel has joined another partnership.

"All three of us still have interests in the firm," Standley said. "Some others have bought in. Rosen has an interest in it and a few others."

The lease for 5400 acres of Tesuque Publo land was made originally April 17, 1970, and modified in parts on May 9, 1970.

SANTA FE (AP) — New Mexico Atty. Gen. David Norvell said late Thursday he will file a test case "forthwith" to settle several aspects of state jurisdiction over land developments on Indian land.

His announcement came in a letter to Santa Fe Dist. Atty. James Thompson, who had written to the attorney general asking to be advised as to what action Norvell planned to establish state jurisdiction over a Santa Fe County subdivision.

—*AP Wirephoto*

INDIAN QUEEN — Miss Nora Begay, 22, was chosen Miss Indian America Sunday at the conclusion of the All-American Indian Days in Sheridan, Wyo. Miss Begay, a Navajo, is from Kaibeto, Utah. She is a sophomore at Brigham Young University at Provo, Utah. Wisconsin's entry, Dianne Stacey, 18, a Sioux-Winnebago from Wisconsin Dells, was named Miss Congeniality.

INDIAN SUIT SEEKS U. OF MICHIGAN AID

Cites 1817 Treaty in a Plea for More Opportunities

Special to The New York Times

ANN ARBOR, Mich., Aug. 14—A Chippewa Indian who is an alumnus of the University of Michigan has sued the university in Circuit Court here in behalf of the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potowatomy tribes.

The Chippewa, Paul J. Johnson, based his suit on an obligation that he said the university incurred under the 1817 Treaty of Fort Meigs. The Indians contend that, under the treaty, they ceded land to "the corporation of the college at Detroit," which later became the University of Michigan.

Mr. Johnson, a former university football player who heads a campus group, American Indians Unlimited," told newsmen last week that the court action had been initiated because the Regents had not acted on his group's proposal for greater educational opportunities for Indians at the school.

Mr. Johnson contended that the university "is deliberately putting us off" and said that "time is running out" for a settlement.

His proposals call for hiring a recruiter to seek out potential Indian students for the university, expanding a scholarship fund for Indian students and establishing courses on American Indian culture and history.

Roderick K. Daane, a member of the university's legal staff, said of the suit yesterday, "the language on which they are basing their case seems indaquate. I don't think they can show the establishment of a trust."

William P. Fenstemacher, assistant vice president for academic affairs at the university, said, "This won't help either the Indians or the university."

Several matters in Johnson's proposal are under consideration, Mr. Fenstemacher said, but he added, "The problem with the higher education appropriations bill not having passed the State Legislature has kept us from being able to make any real decisions."

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SPECIAL REPORT

OUR LAND, THEIR FUTURE

(an essay by Vickie Vigil, a senior at Santa Fe High School and originally published in Magdalene Times, an underground paper)

The federal government has once again succeeded in taking something valuable from the Indians. For three years now, they have been talking to the Tribal Council of Tesuque Pueblo, to lease a land of 1,300 acres. Many years ago, they thought this was a waste land, now they want it for their future.

The big companies want to build another town for their over-populated people. The big people from Washington came with their big smiles and their friendly way of conveying with the Indians. They talked with their fork tongues to the Tribal Council on getting a ninety-nine year lease for development.

Development for what and for whom?

It is not development for the people of Tesuque, for sure. How can they develop into something, when their land is being taken from them. Yes, there will be money, but for how long? Maybe with the money they will develop into the white man's world. If they wanted the Indian People to develop, why don't they build schools, homes, and a training center? Ninety-nine years is a hell of a lot of years.

The people of Tesuque Pueblo had nothing to do with the leasing of the land. It was the Tribal Council, or only a few of the council members, who passed the lease. They, who are supposed to lead their people made a mistake of getting trapped by the white man and his smart brain.

By the time the people knew what had happened, the lease was already signed. A lease that will destroy the natural land and turn it into some city. Indians are now being promised employment on the development of the land. What the white man means is, the Indians will work on the constructing the buildings, but when everything is built, it will be run by the white man. The white man will find some excuse not to let the Indians run it. He has been lied to by the government, as they had done in the past.

Today, they do not murder to take the land. They only smile, talk in big words, and they bring out a piece of paper. It's really a change from yesterday. Now we know why they call our land, Reservations.

They will turn the earth upside down and build residential properties for their people. They will bring pollution to our water and our air. They will use our water, which we already have little of. Their plan includes single-family and multi-family dwellings, recreational facilities, hotel-motel accommodations. These are the white man's needs. Rich people from big cities will come and live in these houses. They say they only want to borrow our land, as they said in the past. It'll still be Indian land, the only difference is that white people will be living on it. But for how long will the white man keep his papers, on which it says that the land belongs to the Indians? Not for ninety-nine years I'm sure.

In ninety-nine years, the land will be a waste land and how are we to get it back to the natural way? Do we then chase out the white people who are inhabiting the land and say the lease is over, or do they say the papers that were signed were not legal?

What will become of the land, when the people who leased it are gone? Where will the young people live, or what will they own that they can say is their own? The tribal leaders who leased the land did not think about this. They were caught up in their own selfish world. They were probably thinking only of the money that would have come into their hands. They have been so brainwashed with the white man's way of thinking and living, that they forgot to ask the Great Spirit what they should have done.

Our land was taken without the consent of the people. We did not give away our land, but it was taken by the use of double talk to our leaders.

The lease is now passed, so the people can do nothing. Only hope in ninety-nine years someone will be able to reclaim the land.

YOU'RE BEING ROBBED!

$20 Million Suit Filed by Indian

BY JACK RYAN
P-I Tacoma Bureau

TACOMA — Henry Lyle (Hank) Adams, Indian activist, yesterday filed a $20 million damage suit against Tacoma Police Chief Lyle Smith, four of his policemen, and 18 enforcement officers of the state's Fisheries and Game Departments.

Included among state personnel named in the suit was R. B. Gruett, field operations enforcement officer of the Department of Fisheries, and Walter Neubrech, chief of game patrol of the Department of Game.

In the suit filed in U.S. District Court here, Adams charged that the defendants conspired to deprive him of his civil rights in connection with a shooting incident on the Puyallup River, and on other occasions.

Adams, a member of the Ft. Peck, Mont. Indian Tribes, but a resident of Pierce and Thurston Counties in recent years, was shot in the abdomen last Jan. 19.

He told police that one of two "vigilantes," who had been harassing the Indians fired a rifle at him at close range.

In his suit, Adams charged that the Tacoma Police Department failed to adequately investigate the incident, and refused to permit federal authorities to enter the case.

Adams also charged that the police chief damaged his reputation by "privately" circulating reports that "the plaintiff's wounds were self-inflicted received in a fight with other Indian individuals . . ."

Adams also charged that the state enforcement agents had conducted a program designed to deprive him of his rights, and had canvassed five Indian reservations seeking "information, rumors, gossip and adverse statements of any damaging nature against the plaintiff's reputation. . . ."

Adams filed the suit on his own behalf and is not represented by any attorney.

Crowfeather Saga Ends

The sometimes wonderful, sometimes sad saga of Ernie Crowfeather came to an end with his death Wednesday night in an Ellensburg hospital.

Crowfeather, a part-Sioux Indian from Yakima, inspired a fund drive that collected $20,000 earlier this year to furnish him with a home dialysis machine to cleanse the blood his failing kidneys could not.

In a tearful press conference Feb. 5, Crowfeather thanked the people who responded so generously to the fund and said he looked forward to "a ripe old age."

When he died at 11 p.m. Wednesday in the emergency room of Kittitas Valley Community Hospital he was 29.

Indian Bureau Backs Puyallups

Aug. 15 1971

TACOMA — (AP) — The Puyallup Indians not only still have an 18,000-acre reservation, they have exclusive fishing rights over the portion of the Puyallup River in that reservation — and the State of Washington has no jurisdiction over Indian activities there, according to an opinion released yesterday by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.

Last March the BIA concluded that the boundaries of the Puyallup Reservation remain the same now as when last enlarged nearly 100 years ago by executive order.

Those boundaries include approximately 18,000 acres of land along the Puyallup River in, and next to, the City of Tacoma extending from the vicinity of the Lincoln Avenue bridge to a point near the city limits of Puyallup.

Most of the land has been in private non-Indian ownership for a number of years.

But this does nothing to diminish Indian fishing rights, according to the opinion, written by BIA acting associate solicitor, William Gershuny. He says further that any non-Indian fishing on that portion of the river in the Puyallup Reservation must have the consent of the Puyallup tribe.

Further, the bed of the river, according to Gershuny, continues to be held in trust by the United States for the benefit of the tribe.

The opinion does not have any force in law and settles nothing in itself, according to federal officials. However it will weigh strongly in the several cases currently pending in the courts.

Gershuny however, says his conclusions "Will require a change with regard to the state practice in exercising jurisdiction over Indians on trust lands — and particularly with regard to state regulation of the tribal fishing right."

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Lovelock Tribal Council
Box 404
Lovelock, Nevada 89419

Preston Tom
General Delivery
Moapa, Nevada 89025

Lila Sam
POBox 884
Te-Moak Bands of Western Shoshone
Elko, Nevada 89801

Intertribal Council of Nevada
1995 E. Second St.
Raymond Yowell, Chairman
Reno, Nevada 89502

ALASKA

Roy Ewan, President
AhtnaThaNenNeh
POBox 115
Gakona, Alaska

Don Wright, President
Alaska Federation of Natives
1675 C St.
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

Stephen V. Hotch, President
Alaska Native Brotherhood
Box 195
Klukwan, Alaska 99831

Mrs. Gertrude Wolfe, President
Alaska Native Sisterhood
Hoonah, Alaska 99829

Charles Franz, President
Alaska Peninsula Native Assn.
POBox 113
Cold Bay, Alaska 99571

Iliodor Philemonof, President
Aleut League
3701 Eureka Space 52B
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

Jerome Trigg, President
Arctic Native Brotherhood
Box 333
Nome, Alaska 99762

Sam Kito, Jr., Director
Fairbanks Native Community Center
102 Lacey St.
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

Jonathan Solomon, President
Gwitcha Gwitchin Ginkhye
Box 120
Ft. Yukon, Alaska 99740

George Miller, President
Kenaitze Indian Tribe
POBox 396
Kenai, Alaska 99611

Kodiak Area Native Assn.
Henry Eaton, President
POBox 172
Kodiak, Alaska 99615

Archie Watson, President
Kuskokwim Valley Native Assn.
General Delivery
Bethel, Alaska 99559

Solomon Guthrie, Mayor
Metlakatla Indian Community
POBox 8
Metlakatla, Alaska 99926

Al Ketzler, President
Tanana Chiefs
Nenana, Alaska 99760

John Borbridge, Jr., President
Tlingit & Haida Central Council
POBox 529
Juneau, Alaska 99801

Seriphem Stephen, President
Tyonek Native Village
Tyonek, Alaska 99682

Francis E. Soxie, President
Unalakleet Native Village
Unalakleet, Alaska 99684

Joe Upicksoun, President
Arctic Slope Native Assn.
Box 566
Barrow, Alaska 99723

Philip Guy, President
Assn of Village Council Presidents
Kwethluk, Alaska 99621

Harvey Samuelson, President
Bristol Bay Native Assn.
Dillingham, Alaska 99576

Gilbert Olson, President
Chugach Native Assn.
POBox 274
Cordova, Alaska 99574

Roy Hulnforf, President
Cook Inlet Native Assn.
POBox 515
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

Tim Wallis, President
Fairbanks Native Assn.
POBox 67
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

ONTARIO

Chief Henry Waboose
Batchewana Bay, Ontario

Billy Sunday, Elected
Band Council
St. Regis, Quebec

Chief Charles Shawkenee
Route 2
Forest, Ontario

Walpole Island Council
:Route 3
Wallaceburg, Ontario

Irving Douglas
Chippewas of Rama
Route 6
Orillia, Ontario

Lawrence Nantikoke, Secretary
Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy
Route 2
Oshweken, Ontario

Tony Belcourt, President
Native Council of Canada
77 Metcalfe St. †1010
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5L6

National Indian Brotherhood
130 Albert St. †1610, Verette Bldg.
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4

Chief Louis Kurrsuico
Mobert, Ontario

Chief Frank Chapais
Box 205C
Long Lac, Ontario

Chief G. Finlayson
Box 372
Longlac, Ontario

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Chief C. Draney
Box 178
Savona, B.C.

Chief Tony Myers
Stone Reserve
Hanceville, B.C.

Necoslie Band Council
Fort St. James, B.C.

Chief D. Alphonse
General Delivery
Duncan, B.C.

Vina Starr
Kitmaat Band Council
Kitmat, B.C.

Native Brotherhood of B.C.
517 Ford Bldg
193 E. Hastings St.
Vancouver 4, B.C.

Indian Chiefs of British Columbia
George Manual, Chairman
6390 Crown St.
Vancouver, B.C.

Harry Lavallee
B.C. Assn. of Non-Statue Indians
Box 342, Station A
Vancouver 1, B.C.

Ahahim Lake Reserve
Band Council
Anahim Lake, B.C.

QUEBEC

Kahntineta Horn
Indian Legal Defense Committee
Caughnawaga, Quebec

Chief Louis Robert Obonsawin
Odanak, Quebec

Harry Blacksmith, Mgr.
Waswanipi Band
Miquelon, Quebec

Chief William Commanda
Maniwaki, Quebec

Indians of Quebec Assn.
Village Huron Indian Reserve
Quebec, Canada

CANADA

Manitoba Indian Women's Assn.
Mrs. Eva McKay
Box 71
Griswold, Manitoba

The Pas Indian Band
Box 297
The Pas, Manitoba

Indian Brotherhood of the
Northwest Territories
James Washie, President
Box 2338
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

Yukon Native Brotherhood
Box 2452
Whitehorse, Yukon

Committee for Original People's
Entitlement
Box 1661
Inuvik, N.W.T.

Chief Peter Barlow
Indian Island Reserve
Site 1, Box 1
Rexton, New Brunswick

Union of New Brunswick Indians
Andrew Nicholas, Director
Box 1552
Frederickton, N.B.

Union of Nova Scotia Indians
Noel Doucette, Director
Box 961
Truro, Nova Scotia

Shubenacadie Band Council
Micmac P.O., Hants County
Nova Scotia

Federation of Saskatchewan Indians
2317 Arlington Ave.
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Elaine Chicoose, Secty.
Fort Native Youth Club
Box 974
Fort QuAppelle, Saskatchewan

Metis Society of Saskatchewan
1935 Scarth St.
Regina, Saskatchewan

ALBERTA

Chief Maurice MacDougall
Piegan Band
Brocket, Alberta

Chief Harry Chonkolay
Box 384
High Level, Alberta

Alberta Native Communications
11427 Jasper Ave.
Edmonton, Alberta

Native Youth Alliance for Liberation
Box 1846
Edmonton, Alberta

Indian Association of Alberta
11732 43 Ave.
Edmonton 73, Alberta

Native Women's Society
629 Revillon Bldg.
Edmonton 14, Alberta

Chief Robert Smallboy
Box 159
Rocky Mountain House, Alberta

NEW YORK

Onondaga Nation Council
Box 152
Nedrow, N.Y. 13120

Mad Bear Anderson
North American Indian Unity Caravan
1883 Mt. Hope Rd.
Lewiston, N.Y. 14092

Chief Beeman Logan
Tonawanda Senecas
Basom, N.Y. 14013

Allen Jemison
Seneca Nation CAA
Box 61
Irving, N.Y. 14081

Sakokwenonkwas, Secretary
Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

EASTERN UNITED STATES

League of Nations of
Pan American Indians
1139 Lehman Pl.
Johnstown, Pa. 15902

LaDonna Harris, President
Americans for Indian Opportunity
Action Council
1820 Jefferson Pl. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

American Indian Press Assn.
†306 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Leo Vocu, Acting Director
National Congress of American Indians
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Chief Oliver Adkins
Route 1, Box 146
Providence Forge, Virginia 23140

Chief Jasper Adams
Central Garage
King Williams, Virginia 23086

Four Holes Indian Freedom Organization
c/o Mrs. Gertie Creel
Route 2, Box 140
Ridgeville, South Carolina 29472

A. Bruce Jones, Director
Lumbee Regional Development Assn.
POBox 637
L.

A. Bruce Jones, Director
Lumbee Regional Development Assn.
POBox 637
Pembroke, North Carolina 28372

Johnson Lee Owle
Eastern Band of Cherokee CAP
POBox 427
Cherokee, N.C. 28719

QuanTobey
Wampanoag Cultural Assn.
147 Winthrop St.
Roxbury, Massachusetts 02119

New England Coastal Schaghticoke
Indian Association, Inc.
142 Center St.
Randolph, Massachusetts

Terry Polchies, President
Association of Aroostock Indians
POBox 223
Houlton, Maine 04730

Elwin Sapiel, President
Greater Bangor Indian Council
183 Main St.
Bangor, Maine 04401

Please send us any corrections or additions to this list.
An amended directory will be published in the near future.

Areas not listed here will be covered in next month's issue. Send us your mailing lists and directories so that the listings will be as complete as possible. All persons listed will receive AKWESASNE NOTES. Deadline for the next issue: September 20.

LIST THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATION IN YOUR DIRECTORY OF TRIBAL COUNCILS AND ORGANIZATIONS:

Name of organization
or tribe:

Address:

Chairman (if known):

(Send to AKWESASNE NOTES, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683)

WANTED !

Treaty Indians of the Columbia, Inc.
Post Office Box 5
Cooks, Washington 98605

This non-profit organization defends Indian rights and is looking for members at $5 per year. Income helps the cause, and brings you a newsletter on activities and problems.

Helen B. Turnbull, Director
Hannah Harrison School of the YWCA
4470 MacArthur Blvd., NW
Washington, D.C. 20007

offering full scholarships to Indian women who want to become practical nurses or institutional housekeepers. Applicants must be 30-50 years old for housekeepers training (for hospitals, etc) and 18-50 for nursing.

Elaine Walbroek
School of Public Health
University of California
Berkeley, Calif. 94720

Ten traineeships available to native American students for graduate training in Health Administration and Hospital Administration. Toward a Master's degree in public health.

Dept. of Administration
State Bureau of Personnel
1 West Wilson St.
Madison, Wisconsin 53702

American Indian Education Consultant required by Dept of Public Instr. $14,172 minimum salary. To provide educational leadership to officials and teachers in school districts where Indian children are enrolled.

Menno Boldt
Department of Anthropology
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, Alberta

Establishing a data bank on the Canadian Indian to prepare a bibliography of source material and to collect copies of unpublished papers. Requesting materials for the data bank.

Sid Brown
Natural Liberation Front
POBox 12664
Seattle, Washington 98111

"We are part of a musical group that does primarily political songs and we'd be glad to perform at Native-American benefits if transportation can be provided. We can also do printing for Washington Indian groups. Phone (206) ME 3-2233.

Indian Teacher Training Project
University of Georgia
107 Dudley Hall
Athens, Georgia 30601

Fourteen scholarships for $3,600 per year to Indian college students who have completed their first two years of college and want to become high school social science teachers. Practice work at Choctaw & Cherokee. Also seeking two persons for supervisors of the program who would work on their doctoral degree

Colorado Migrant Council
655 Grant
Denver, Colorado 80203

National Migrant and seasonal Hearings will be held in the Civic Center in Mercedes Texas on October 26 - 30, 1971. Delegations or interested parties, agricultural workers, are requested to send in a registration.

Emmett York, former tribal chairman of the Mississippi Band of Choctaws, died July 26 after a three week illness. He was serving as president of the United Southeastern Tribes at the time of his death.

Give It BACK

"But they don't make proper use of the land," is often heard concerning Indian tribes across this land. "Do we rape our mother? Must we tear her open in greed? Should not certain areas be allowed to ever rest, unmolested?" These are answers given by the tribes.

To support the economy, to support the overpopulated cities, to keep this the wealthiest nation; what has been the price? Dustbowls, stripped and dying lands, contaminated rivers and lakes, barren hills, a stifling atmosphere, the extermination of whole species: America's heritage and gift to its unborn children.

I have wept, and now I dry my tears. Let us hold a dustbowl in the palm of our hand, as a mother would a baby. Let us sing to that baby, to that dustbowl. The dust bowl cries in hunger as the winds carry off the topsoil. We run for water to quench a terrible thirst. We cover the topsoil with a soft layer of cool crasses. Now when the wind comes, there is music and spirit whisperings. We walk upon this former dustbowl. There are birds and animals. The palms of our hands have become small, and we know now that we are the children.

We do not like bulldozers because they are foul and noisy. Close by are hills of stone and dirt surrounding a huge pit. They call to us and cry their wish to return to their mother. We use the bulldozers to level these hills, stripped now of whatever minerals have caused their grief. A richer land close by lends us just enough soil to cover the wound. The wound heals and becomes one with the surrounding land. We run barefoot over this new beauty and know we are its children.

Our cousins not far away plant trees upon barren hillsides. The rivers slow their former rampage to enjoy the trees. The deer return, the bear, the beaver, the eagle. We are all children.

From the earth mother comes a song and a dance. They are carried to the four directions by the winds. The song is the earth pulse and the dance is the spirit. The spirit is but a circle and this circle is the land, the people, the nations far away but close, for a circle has no far away. Once there is a circle created by the song of earth, there can be no beginning or end to either song or circle. Life and death are as one, for each goes into each. All tears return to the great waters, to rise into the heavens, and to fall and replenish the circle.

The earth is a circle, as are the stars and their movements. All are children. We are children, but true children only when we have heard and learned the song and the dance which are ours.

Aroniawenrate

DID YOU KNOW...

IDEAS FROM ISRAEL – Five Indians were in Israel in July to study development trends in Israeli educational, social welfare, and economic methods. The group was led by Victor Sakiste-wa, Jr., controller of the Hopi Tribe, Adelina Defender a social worker with Jemez Pueblo, Norman Suaz, an Albuquerque Pueblo architect, Belle King, a nurse employed with the Shoshone and Paiute peoples, and Ramus Suina, a Kochiti Pueblo studying to be a museum curator. We hope they also found out how a people can get their land back on a 2,000 year old claim.

BANNED IN GALLUP? – Rumor has it that certain magazines such as AKWESASNE NOTES and MANKIND (the magazine of popular history) are kept off Gallup news stands because business men from that New Mexico town find the writings "distasteful and unfair." Seems like distribution of publications from there covers N'W New Mexico, NE Arizona, and the Navajo Nation. Ask your local trading post, corner drugs, or other newsstands to carry NOTES – and let us know the results.

CONTESTING CITIZENSHIP – Many Indians have long claimed that they were deprived of their citizenship in their Indian Nations when the U.S. passed the 1924 Citizenship Act which compels them to be citizens of that country. Now Pablo Yoruba Guzman, minister of information for the Young Lords Partyhas refused induction in the Armed Forces, saying: "We want to see if the federal government has nerve enough to allow our day in court. We want to raise the issue of the colonization of Puerto Rico. We are not Americans."

INDIAN INDUSTRIALISTS – will meet in Chicago's LaSalle Hotel for the NCAI's Indian Industrial Development Conference on Sept. 28-30. Purpose of the conference is to provide a forum in which the nation's top business leaders can meet with tribal economic development leaders from 38 reservations and scrutinize the available industrial parksites around Indian country and the success of ongoing business enterprises. It's frontier time in the business world.

THE SHAH OF IRAN is reportedly planning to invite a few Indian leaders to help him celebrate the 2,500th birthday of the Old Persian State – wants them to come as representatives of their sovereign nation.

INDIAN CRAFTSMEN may be paying the Canadian Federal 12% manufacturing tax, according to recent rumor. Any one with knowledge about this, or any government official who wishesto confirm or deny the rumor, is invited to write.

MONTANA HIGHWAY PATROL – is reported to have seized copies of AKWESASNE NOTES from some travellers, according to a report in LIGHT OF UNDERSTANDING, a church newspaper. The report reads, "They wanted to know who we were, and what we were doing up here. Even asked us our political affiliations. After they had searched the unit, we were allowed on our way, but they did keep all copies of AKWES-ASNE NOTES sent to us by Reverend Ray." So, to the MHP, we say – flattery will get you nowhere.

HOPI CULTURAL CENTER DEDICATION– took place June 26 at Second Mesa, Arizona. Speakers included Governor Jack Williams & Dr. H.C. Diehl, long-timesupporter of the Center. Its purpose is primarily to encourage the work of Hopi arts and crafts and to provide scholarships. The Rev. Carl Grummond of the Sunlight Baptist Mission led the benediction. The Hopi Indian Band provided music.

HEXAGONAL BEDS costing $450 each are in the $2 million Ute Tribe motel complex at Fort Duquesne. The luxury resort cost $48 per square foot. Nice that the Utes can work there, too bad they can't afford to sleep there.

CHARTERS, CONSTITUTIONS, and ByLAWS of THE INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA is the title of a series of mimeo'd books being compiled and edited by George Fay at the Museum of Anthropology, Univ. of Northern Colorado, Greeley.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

ADOPTION OF INDIAN KIDS

The Adoption Resource Exchange of North America, sponsored by the Child Welfare League of America, receives BIA money for a special project which has caused 400 Indian children to be placed with Caucasian families.

Recently, AKWESASNE NOTES published a photo from a New Jersey paper of four Crow children who needed homes. The accompanying article was written by Vera Plumb, herself an adopting parent, who has worked very hard on behalf of improving the situation of "hard-to-place children." Information regarding children she writes about comes from the Exchange. ARENA.

AKWESASNE NOTES contacted her, and ARENA, offering to use this newspaper to publicize Indian children who needed homes. Being the largest Indian newspaper in North America, we felt that we could reach many Indian people who might be able to provide homes.

In the meantime, however, members of the Crow Nation spotted the picture, and announced that they would make arrangements so that they could be cared for with their people on the reservation. ARENA was reportedly upset that the "plans for the children had been disrupted."

Now ARENA reports that they have done considerable exploration regarding the present availability of Indian children for adoption. "At this time the number of children that are actually legally free for placement is very small, so we will not be planning any further publicity in the immediate future."

****

Perhaps this is the case. However, some adoption agencies are reporting near crises in their "Indian caseloads", and on the foster home care side of things many agencies use State Homes for Delinquents and even mental hospitals because no homes are available.

And so we offer our services. We would like to hear from agencies who have Indian children who need foster homes and adoption homes. If you are employed by an agency, write us. Readers can also phone child care agencies in their area and encourage them to get in touch with us if they require additional placements.

We would like to hear from people who have been in touch with agencies who might want to relate their experiences. We would like to commend agencies who are helping with the welfare of Indian children – and to help correct the situation of agencies who hold negative attitudes.

We would like to hear from Indian people who would like to have children placed with them. We will try to put you in touch with the right people to help. We are not wanting to get in the adoption business ourselves, but we will be glad to devote whatever attention necessary to be sure that every Indian child who needs a home has one.

We're a long way from that goal now.

A BEAUTIFUL INDIAN STAMP – has just been issued by Canada. Unfortunately, its purpose is not to honor Indians, but a painter, Paul Kane. The stamp is a large one, depicting a riverside scene with canoes and teepees. It is for 7 cents. As a convenience to collectors, we will mail a block of four for 50 cents to all who request it from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

ARE YOU TIRED OF THE

same old line?

LETTERS

***BROTHERS:** We are doing a series of chapbooks VIHIO BOOKS besides our poetry magazine QUETZAL. The first three chap books were of poetry by Hyemeyohsts Storm, Simon J. Ortiz, and Ricardo Sanchez.*

***QUETZAL** is a magazine of Native American writings: Chicano, Indian, Mexicano. We are also working on a big anthology of SW poetry and also another anthology of Chicano, Indian, Mexicano poetry for MICTLA, a new publishing house in El Paso founded to give the People an outlet.*

We need the cooperation of everyone interested in these areas, poetry, publishing, &c.

Randall Ackley
Pembroke State University
Pembroke, N.C. 28372

NOTES: For years we have complained that every non-Indian and his brother has been selling "Indian" crafts and not a cent, or at best, a few cents, have ever gotten back to our people. Perhaps the time has come to at least try to change this.

Finding outlets in white-owned stores is not the answer. As anyone who has tried to market crafts in this manner knows, the shop owner is not willing to pay enough to much more than pay for materials, but he marks the price up at least 100% and makes plenty for himself. Another major problem is, of course, the vast amount of so-called "Indian" things made in Japan, Taiwan, and other non-Indian places.

Perhaps the time has come for the Indian craftsmen and co-ops to deal directly with the public through the mails. My idea is this: a central listing of all co-ops and craftsmen willing to sell in this manner. This list would be available to potential buyers for the price of postage. There would be no charge for listing.

If any craftsman or co-op is interested in being part of such a listing, please send me your address and information on what you have to sell. I will compile and mimeograph the list and make it available to anyone willing to pay the postage. All suggestions are welcome.

Lee Higdon
POBox 1519
Salisbury, Maryland 21801

(Sure, we'd be glad to publish the list in AKWESASNE NOTES, too. Co-ops and craftsmen can also display crafts for resale at your own price through WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE, c/o this paper.)

NOTES: I was going to write about my ancestors being destroyed by white men in the ghettos of Europe while yours were being destroyed by whitemen here – and appeal to an understanding that there should be no generalization that all white people should be hated and everything they do despised, etc., etc. – but you know all that – but sometimes your articles – oh, you know that too.

AKWESASNE NOTES is wonderful.

Mrs. Charles Hirschfeld
Staten Island, N.Y.

NOTES: The early European settlers came to this land, seeking freedom, yet many of them ignored the rights of the Indian. The Great Spirit suffered them to exploit the people of this land, for He proved the patience and faith of the Indian.

Now the time has come for the Indian to fulfill his divine mission. He has allowed the people of the world to enter his house, but they have tried to destroy it. The air is clouded with smoke. Our lakes and streams are choked with death. We must show the people howto live. The Great Spirit, Eolin, has blessed this land with many wondrous resources. They are waiting for us. We must return to the land of our ancestors, for let it be known this is only the beginning.

In not many decades, the many-colored people of this country will return to the land, living in communal bliss. Toward this the Great Spirit has been guiding us since before the days of Columbus.

Aronold Arias
Oakland, California

NOTES: I was mildly surprised to find on page 19 of the May issue a picture of my cousin, Grady Roberts, and of Luella Ground, taken during the 1930's. From family memory, I have an image of Grady as a very personable and impetuous young man, who later as an Army Air Force pilot made 38 missions over Europe. He died in a plane crash some where in West Virginia in the autumn of 1943. My family has always thought highly of him.

Charles E. Roberts
Sacramento State College

FRIENDS: Chances are you will not remember my name nor my face. But I shall remember you and the rest of your group, WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE with a sense of pride for as long as I live. I cannot express the tremendous impression you young people made on me.

Ray Allard
Washington State Penitentiary

MY BROTHERS: Your paper is one of the real Red Man relationships I have here inside these walls. Its arrival is much like a fresh gust of our great wind, and for me it lingers. Much of what I read is sad, and yet to be an Indian is beautiful. I am Indian, and I will always seek wisdom with every tomorrow.

Larry Attebery
Washington State Prison, WallaWalla

NOTES: For many years I have been concerned with the downright cruel and shameless manner in which the Indians all over the world have been treated by the whiteman. The white man, who has ever seemed to think of himself as master of the world, is now reaping the results of their oppressive attitudes, during these deeply troubled times.

Be of good courage; the Great Spirit watches over you.

Mrs. M.C. Anderson
Dresden, Maine

BROTHERS: I was born in Cuba. As do most Latin Americans, my family has a good dosage of Indian blood running in our veins. We are proud of this, and even though my parent's upbringing gives them only a limited chance to enjoy this pride, I am free to be proud. My dark skin, my high cheekbones, my black hair and sparse facial hair (although silly racial characteristics) still give me the good feeling of knowing that I am one of those who was meant to live on this continent.

The Spanish left very little knowledge of the primitive cultures that they found in Cuba, so my own heritage has been thoroughly obliterated and I have only yours to-te turn to.

Miguel

"Five minutes in America, and you're knocking it already."

SISTERS AND BROTHERS: For some time now, I have read AKWESASNE NOTES with great interest. I have never seen anything, however, on the role of homosexuality in the Indian culture – past or present. As an international gay revolutionary, I am vitally interested in this.

There are at present no people of Indian ancestry active in the gay movement here. I believe strongly that it is vital that gay people around the world be able to affirm both their homosexuality and their ethnic and racial identity. To do this, there must be discussion about the past and present status of gay people in all cultures.

All I have ever heard about this subject is that in certain Plains Indian tribes, there were male homosexual marriages in which strict male/female role patterns were maintained, with one male keeping the house, while the other hunted. I do not know the validity of this story.

Also, I would like to apologize for certain racist acts and statements by members of the visible gay community, in particular, the attitude taken by the organizers of last fall's Alpine County, California, escapade toward Indian residents of that county. Some pretty well echo the racism of the present US society.

Bob Bland
Gay Revolution Party
POBox 410, Old Chelsea Station
New York, NY 10011

FRIEND: I'm here listening to dead wasichu literature to get a degree and become rich and famous and find myself a long way from the Mississippi Choctaw. Akwesasne Notes keeps me up on what is going on now; I don't like to wait until some anthro-sociologist analyzes it and puts it into a graph book for the sociology library here.

John Woodrow Presley
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

NOTES: My word of advice to every Indian: you are a diamond, so don't be compared to a piece of gravel. True pride and true dignity was ours centuries before the white man ever came over here. And he hasn't found pride or dignity yet.

Larry Littlefox
Tacoma, Washington 98404

NOTES: Keep up the fine work, native North Americans. Drive the spoilers away. We are your friends. We want the earth brought back to its naturalness. Get rid of foul air, impure water, man-made noise.

Can you imagine selling the land and condemning it just to increase profits? Bring back the animals. Run the so-called sportsman out. Let's all get back to nature. We need a powerful helper, the one who made us. The Creator will soon act. These crazy people will destroy themselves.

Carter J. Green
Hummelstown, Pa.

NOTES: Just who is the "big chief" in charge? Is he an American? He sure sounds nutty as a fruitcake! One person's view, from the horses mouth. I have sent in clippings that tell of things that gave the Indians honor, credit, written by white people in Oklahoma. These clippings were never published. At least give credit where credit is due.

I am part Indian. My great great Grandmother was an Indian princess (Cherokee) and my great great grandfather was a full-blooded French fur trader or trapper.

Louise Cook
Piedmont, Oklahoma

NOTES: Your paper is a gold mine of truth. I live in a small suburb amongst an upper-middle class of apathetic whites. All of my school years I was surrounded by white American propaganda but now I have opened my eyes and my heart. I hear their lies and I see their fears. In my future years at school, I will attempt to learn why "the whites are crazy" so we will not fall into the darkness. To be Indian, I'll never have to attend a school for my wisdom shall come from the Mother Earth and from within my soul. Continue with the NOTES for it serves as an axis between a world of lies and a world of truth.

Cheryl Bolduc
Rumford, R.I.

NOTES: I am a Jew, married to an Oriental, so I know what discrimination is. I would like to point out a couple of things which are bothering me somewhat.

John Koster's article *Movies are Really Killing Indians* complains with justification about Tony Quinn's portrayal of an Indian, and implies racism – which it is, to a certain extent. In paragraph four, however, Koster makes Quinn utter a grunt "through his bent Irish-Mexican nose."

If we are so sensitive, then we should be extremely careful in using similar cliches such as Koster uses in characterizing Quinn.

Under the headline *Sioux Airs Opinion of Christianity,* Edward McGaa, a Sioux Indian tells missionaries (Christians) to "go home". I could not agree more. But in the last paragraph of the article, he is quoted as saying "We must spread our values to the world. . ." and that is pretty close to what the missionaries are doing.

Congratulations on your wonderful publication, and keep up the good work.

Peter R. Odens
El Centro, California

NOTES: Kahntineta Horn's fight to gain rights for the Indians will not get us anywhere. Her ideas are twisted. She thinks Indians cannot live among whites.

My family is Mohawk and we live in a white community. We get along good with our neighbors. All my friends are white. This idea of separate societies would NEVER work. I am living proof of this falsity. Negroes are gaining rights without their "own society".

Karen Bova
Syracuse, N.Y.

FRIENDS: I'm Indian, but I also have Hawaiian and others too. I don't know what kind of Indian I've got, because my grandmother never told any of us what kind she had. I'm in a movement called Kokua Hawaii. We fight for our land, our culture. The reason is because to stop the white man from taking over the local people. I believe you're fighting for almost the same thing. I've read El Grito del Norte *too. Peace.*

Raeana Kalahiki,
Hawaii

NOTES: I had quite an experience last weekend. I attended the Monroe Powwow in East Brunswick, N.J. and I was thoroughly disgusted. It should be advertised as a hobbyist powwow, because the number of Indians participating could be counted on your fingers. What a sickening sight!

Mr. and Mrs. Van Davis, who were in charge of the concession booths were sympathetic to my complaint of finding imported beadwork and other junk for sale, which was far removed from Indian crafts.

In my opinion, if a bunch of non-Indian people want to dance around in feathers, etc., they should do it privately without an audience, and most of all, not try to pass it off as being true Indian. I just don't see how Indians are benefitting from all this,

If you ask me, the Indians culture is being exploited at an affair as this one. If I were an Indian, I'd be out there with a picket sign, warning people to stay away, that this is not an Indian powwow, but a bunch of whites and blacks making fools of themselves.

I suppose I'm learning to "think Indian."

Erika Stringfellow
(formerly of Germany)
Maryland

NOTES: I am a non-Indian, but I am hoping that it will be possible for me to become involved in the Indian struggle in this country in a way that is not harmful to the people I would like to help. I sometimes doubt there could be such a role for me. If I only end up being a school teacher in white suburbia, at least I will not brainwash the minds of those children with the same twisted history I was taught.

Abby Elias
Waltham, Massachusetts

NOTES: I took a poll among the people who bought an issue of the Early Spring paper from me. You might be interested in the results. In answer to the question, "Did you read the paper?" replies ranged from "I read part of it" to "I never got around to it" to "I lost it." Three people were interested, but hadn't written you for a subscription.

I sold the Late Spring papers with a new attitude. "I don't want you to buy the paper if you're not going to read it."

Howard Rea

BROTHERS AND SISTERS: I wish to express my gratitude openly to Vine Deloria, Jr., for his book, *Custer Died for Your Sins.* If you haven't read this book, please do. You will be happier for it.

Veronica Keene
Monroe, Louisiana

NOTES: I had never seen or heard of any Indian paper that didn't devote its entirety to describing basketball games and accounting for highways and white-owned stores on the reserve. Your paper, however, is our people's paper.

Irma Pangborn
Detroit

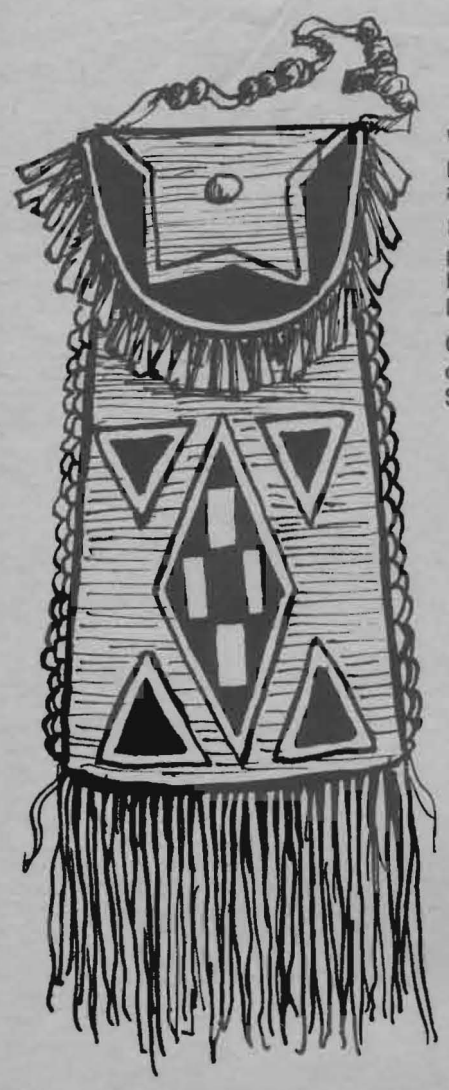
NOTES: Why don't you print any of the stuff I send you? I sent an article with photo on the Indian Festival here in May, and several articles on Indian fishing rights. Could it be that these articles aren't militant enough?

Maybe you need more variety, eh?

John Miller
Detroit

NOTES: I would like to know if there is any group of American Indian teachers I could get in touch with. I'm trying to set up communications among various teachers' groups. Thanks.

Hal Lenke
Box 143
Clifton Forge, Virginia 24422



POW – WOW REMNANTS

Warm walnut seats crisscrossed braces
piecing quiet warriorless patterns
against collapsible arena walls.

Red cardboard posters curled around past
performances; drawing back from
beer cans scattered about like fallen
braves, bent or flattened by unknown hands.

One head split drum dropped under a chair
collected flies to barbecue stains.
Small sparrows left droppings to be remembered by.

– Lew Blockcolski

I am happy
for I am
what the great ones
thought would die

Sea-Flower

SOUNDS

What do I hear?
Drums?
What do I hear?
Songs?
What do I hear?
Is it my people
so loud and clear
who have gathered here
from far and near
to decide what our children
will learn and speak?
YES !

– Martha West

PLASTIC PARIS INDIANS

I was sent into the city by the man from B I A
What I saw there wasn't pretty, so I'm going home today.
I went into a fancy store to get out of the cold,
And what I saw while I was there is something to behold;

Plastic Paris Indians in every store I saw,
What they will do for money should be against the law.

I got into Chicago and looked around their stores,
Their Indian clothes annoyed my nose – I had to go outdoors.
Italian Indian suedes and Italian moccasins.
The descendants of Columbus are out to get our skins.

Plastic Paris Indians, how many fall for you?
And what a waste of money for something that ain't true.

Standing in their window was a plastic Indian maid
Holding up an ear of corn and catering to the trade.
A few years back in time – it wasn't back too far –
I saw that Indian once before with a handful of cigars.

Plastic Paris Indians, you hurt my heart so bad
To see my tribal colors so easy to be had.

The rich and white old ladies stood by the Indian maid
Their wrinkles under warpaint, their fat beneath the suede.
I said to them, "I'm Indian – I'm proud I'm Indian too."
They called a guard who threw me out like an old bowl of corn stew.

Plastic Paris Indians, you're like the BIA –
You sell our souls for money, you throw our lives away.

When I think of what is wasted on that Plastic Paris stuff
While last winter we ate dog meat – and didn't have enough.
We bought our water in barrels. They waste it here like hell.
If they really want to be like us, they should live like us as well.

Plastic Paris Indians – just what have you gone through
To earn your right to be Indian?
Your clothes are as fake as you.

– Robert Bacon

HAS GOT TO FALL

The
white power
structure
has
got to
go.
It has
oppressed
so many
people
for
so long.
The white
power
structure
has
got
to fall.

– Aaron Berry

RODEO KICKS OFF JULY 4 HOLIDAY – HONORS INDIANS

one hundred and ninety-four fourths of July
and American cowboys still aren't men
they honor tribal representatives by inviting them to
by inviting them to celebrate
the official date of their loss of pride

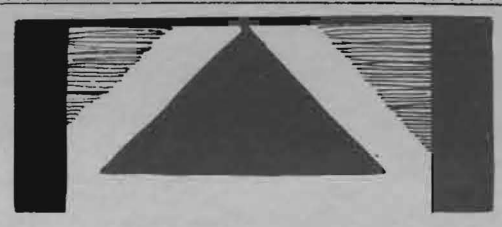
who do we thank for the price of admission
for the privilege of sitting in front row seats
Mrs. Madison Square Garden in midi and rouge
Mr. Rodeo Commissioner in Stetson and spurs
thank you for papering your house with my people
but why should we pay
it's not we who owe

peanuts – hey – peanuts – only two bits
cowgirls in seguins and oh-so-red lips
banners and beelights and Brahma bull chips
buy ice cream – buy soda – buy genuine whips

"Y'all are welcome to the Rodeo!
Cow Town, New Jersey is proud to present
two hundred Indians here to the events.
A big howdy hand for our real American friends.
Let's hear it!"
(hope they got a leader here to keep 'em in line
ain't none of 'em got respect for private property
just look what they done to government land
the Army ought to put 'em all on Alcatraz
it ain't good fer nuthin' no how
and maybe that'd keep 'em quiet
damn, they got mean eyes
don't look too red, tho'
more browny-black – like niggers
and every last one a long-hair
now why ain't they clappin'
a body'd think they'd be glad to get in free
ain't no end to the shit you gotta wade thru
when business is slow)

"Rodeo's own Chief Red Hawk
and his Dancin' Kiowas!"

dear Chief Red Hawk – Rodeo's owned
how much of the white man's money power
were you paid for trading your dignity
pounding a drum and singing songs
for gaudy-garbed braves in rings of light



dancing what once were dances of joy
just isn't the same in Madison Square
as it was in Kiowa circles of fire
as you sing do you think of Kiowa Fathers
in spotlights' glare are you nightmares repeated
in sleep do you dream of other chiefs
crying for true braves preparing to die
when the words of war chants fill the arena
do the echoes echo back in time
followed by arrows piercing your breast
arrows from sacred slings of the holy chief
means holy, Red Hawk Chief
not just a billing to "pack 'em in"
is your wild Injun act ever over for you
or, like the cruel rite of the Morning Star,
do you feel your heart nightly cut dead
when each star light appears overhead?

"Let's hear it for that dancer, folks!
Back home from his hitch in Vietnam
Spotted Deer – the bravest brave around!"

dear spotted brave
circus brave in the white man's show
killing your yellow brothers and sisters
who want no more than their piece of earth
to eat from, to sleep on, to live on and on
barber shop model with hair newly cut
the short haired white man trained you well
to destroy the rice, yellow like corn
to shoot his gun at large black eyes
like Kiowa eyes, you sad blind brave
didn't the sight of napalmed bombed villages
evoke visions of others murdered and raped
your body is red but your face looks white
do the colors ever reverse with the sound
of Red Hawk chanting Bloody Knife's Song:
O-Na Rho-Na Ey-Na O-Na
My enemy, I come after
Your good white horse
O-Na Rho-Na Ey Eye Ey

does that warrior's song mean nothing to you
is it only a reminder of the act you follow
how nervous and frenzied is your dance
but i understand your fear when you hear:
Ho-Neya Ha-Teya Ho-Na Ho-Na
Our Fathers thoughts
Shine down on you
Ho-Neya Ha-Teya Ho-Na Ho-Na

"Introducing Miss Trick Rider of 1971
the prettiest little filly this side of Texas!
Give the little lady a great big hand
as she rides old glory across the Garden.
Everyone join in the National Anthem."

a rodeo of champions salute their flag
a stadium of patriots strain for high notes
the brassy tune of the nationalists' anthem
accompanies the banner unfurled over dung

"Hey – those people ain't singin'!
They ain't even standin'!"
(those Indians are sittin' on their asses
they'd stand up for a bottle of whiskey, alright
stand up, you lazy red skins!
show a little respect!)

oh, say can't you see
there's nothing to stand for
what does it stand for
that starred and barred cotton
the rockets' red glare?

i will not stand for your pain or your lies
or a ticket to the home
of the free and brave cowboy land
i have an anger that you cannot quench
with your jive coca-pepsi-un-up-cola
designed to hit just the wrong spot

i will not stand for you
or your star-spangled-stud-rodeo symbol

and i will not sing
your unclean song

–Suzan Shown